

From the Edinburgh Review.

1. *L'Europe depuis l'Avènement du Roi Louis Philippe*. Par M. CAPEFIGUE. 10 vols. Paris : 1846.
2. *Le Congrès de Vienne dans ses Rapports avec la Circonscription actuelle de l'Europe*. Par M. CAPEFIGUE. Paris : Jan. 1847.
3. *European Remodellings, a Plan with a Variation*. London : 1848.
4. *Sketches of the Progress of Civilization and Public Liberty, with a View of the Political Condition of Europe and America in 1848*. By JOHN MACGREGOR, M. P. London : 1848.

WHATEVER may be the character finally communicated to the historical school of our own generation, it must surely be rescued from sinking into antiquarianism, by the influence of the events which are passing around us. It is scarcely possible that any person in these days should overlook the present to exist solely in the past. From a period of tranquillity, during which the pacific stagnation of European politics was visibly disturbed only by the squabbles of diplomacy or the mutterings of discontent, we have been suddenly precipitated into a chaos of revolutions, which have threatened to subvert the constitution and the relations of almost every state, except our own. From an age of repose we have been transferred at once to an age of living history ; and indeed, in some sense, the records of the past offer no such scene for observation as that which is now being gradually unfolded before our eyes. It is at such periods, however, that history becomes susceptible of its most comprehensive and instructive application ; and the more so when, as in the present case, the progress of civilization has apparently raised its judgments above that argument which used to be the *ultima ratio* of kings. Within these last eight months history has been appealed to in sanction of the most fundamental changes over half the continent of Europe ; until, indeed, it seems almost necessary to protest against an excess of scholasticism, and practical statesmen have to take heed that historical reveries do not terminate in some such extravagance as occasionally results from unqualified antiquarianism. In the spirit which is hurrying the Germans across the Eyder, might be found a strong analogy to that which has conducted certain young English priests to Rome.

In constructing for our readers a synoptical view of the present state of Europe, we have adopted the scheme which appeared to promise the most general, as well as the most available, information. At such a crisis as this, besides the respective conditions of the several states, there is to be considered the condition of that political sys-

tem which is composed by their reciprocal action ; in fact it is simply impossible, as Europe is at present constituted, to look at any one of its component powers irrespectively of its relations with the others. The existing system of Europe may be termed, with almost perfect strictness, as indeed it has been termed by German publicists, a Federal system ; and the fortunes of France or Prussia can be no more separated from those of the states around them, than the affairs of Unterwalden can be distinguished from the affairs of Switzerland. It happens, too, that this system itself has been brought, and that not unintentionally, into greater peril by the recent movement, than could have resulted from any shock short of a general war ; and though modifications of its character are perpetually in operation, yet its entire demolition, or, in other words, the subversion of all those political compacts and usages which have been received as regulating the intercourse of nations, is an event of the rarest occurrence and most momentous import—being equivalent in its effects upon the whole European commonwealth to those revolutions which subvert the political fabric of any particular state. This, therefore, would naturally be the first point to be attended to in considering the state of Europe. Besides this, however, it will be found that by thus looking at each state as part of a whole, the several events, which are now indistinct and confused, will admit of being classified and characterized according to their real importance. Some parts of the machine may bear a good deal of rough handling without any serious consequences ; in other parts a slight derangement may be fatal to the whole. In order, therefore, to convey the most intelligible and comprehensive idea of the present state of Europe, we propose briefly to review the system on which European relations were based by European consent at that last arrangement of such affairs which has been thought to regulate our national duties ; to specify the modifications subsequently introduced ; to ascertain the functions attributed to each particular state in the body politic ; to discover the principles which determined the action of the whole ; and thus, by elucidating the state of things under which we had been living, and to which we had arrived, to consider with better understanding, and from a better point of view, not only the character and course of those events which are now so strangely affecting the condition of each particular member, but the extent to which the general system has been disturbed, and the results which any probable modifications of its form may be expected to produce. However circuitous this route may appear, the reader may be assured that more quickly and surely than any other will it lead him to the

position from which the actual Europe can best be surveyed.

Up to the date of these startling events, the public law and international rights of the old world were understood to rest, as our readers know, upon the treaties of Vienna. This, at least, is the phrase conventionally used to designate the charter of the European constitution, though it may be remarked, for precision's sake, that the expression involves some confusion of dates and circumstances. The relations existing, for instance, between France and Europe, which are those to which attention has been most frequently drawn, were determined by treaties entirely distinct from the acts of the congress at Vienna. After the allies had first entered Paris, a treaty was concluded on the 30th of May, 1814, by which the frontiers, possessions, and position of France were so far defined, that nothing was left to be settled at Vienna upon these particular points. The final decisions of the congress were precipitated, as will be well remembered, by the return of Bonaparte from Elba—an event which was considered by the allies, after their renewed successes, to justify a modification of the terms granted by the treaty of the previous year. Accordingly, on the 20th of November, 1815, a new convention was signed; and this is the particular act which so rankles in the bosom of Frenchmen; and which, under the general denomination of the "Treaties of Vienna," has been the object of incessant denunciation and attack, from that moment to the present day. As a matter of fact, the circumscription of France was not brought into discussion at Vienna; it was conceived to have been already defined at the peace of Paris; and this definition was only modified in consequence of events which subsequently occurred. In common phraseology, however, the "Treaties of Vienna," or the "Treaties of 1815," are usually appealed to as regulating the existing state of Europe, and fixing the unhappy destinies of France; and the inaccuracy involves no very serious evil.

In considering these famous arrangements, which have secured the general peace, with few and partial interruptions, for three and thirty years, and which now at length seem to be approaching their termination, it will be necessary to attend closely to the circumstances of the period at which they were determined, if we wish either to appreciate justly the spirit in which they were conceived, or to comprehend that in which they have been attacked, and in which it is now hoped to supersede them. The leading idea of the sovereigns and statesmen assembled in the Austrian capital, was the restoration of the European system, which for a quarter of a century had been utterly destroyed. They desired to recur to that ancient code of public law which had formerly regulated the intercourse of states; and they were reasonably anxious to secure it for the future against any such impetuous violations as those to which it had been recently exposed by the ambition and the conquests of France. As it happened

these objects were not found very readily reconcilable with each other, and considerable violence was offered to national rights in the effort to preclude for the future any recurrence of national wrongs. There was also the necessity of satisfying individual ambition, of indemnifying impoverished states, and of recompensing conspicuous services; nor was it to be overlooked that there were certain existing facts, to which the eyes of the congress could not be closed. Italy, Poland, and Saxony, were in the actual possession respectively of Austria, Russia, and Prussia; and in no case did there appear any disposition to relax the grasp obtained.

Under these conditions the congress assembled for its duties. It is to be observed, that, while the ancient code of public law was to be restored, the principles on which the political system was to be organized were entirely new. The canons and maxims of the old traditional policy of Europe had been exploded by motives more powerful than hereditary jealousies or historical alliances. All such history, in fact, was now a *tabula rasa*. The House of Bourbon had been reseat on its throne by the House of Hapsburg; and the descendant of Maria Theresa shared the hazards and the hopes of the descendant of Frederic the Great. There was no longer any room for the combinations of former times. The rivalry of France and Austria was as obsolete as that of Genoa and Pisa; and they were now connected by far more imperative considerations than such as had suggested the strange coalition of 1756. In the presence of a more terrible power all minor differences were sunk; and for the first time in political history, the deliberations of a congress were directed less to the establishment of equilibrium between jealous states, than to the erection of a barrier against a common enemy of all.

The acts of the congress and its supplements may be considered from two separate points of view; either as repartitions of territory, or sanctions of principle. We will first take the former. Subject to the private expectations of the great powers most immediately interested, the consummation aimed at in the territorial arrangements, was the effectual repression of France; a result in which it was secretly thought practicable to include certain precautionary measures against what was already considered the menacing predominance of Russia. Between the Niemen and the Meuse, therefore, lay the ground to be scientifically distributed. The scheme by which Napoleon had superseded the old arrangements of central Europe, was admirably adapted to a system based upon the supremacy of France. By the not unnatural annexation of the grand duchy of Warsaw to a kingdom so intimately connected with ancient Poland, he had created in Saxony an attached and powerful state, which, interposed between the Austrian and Russian dominions, was calculated to neutralize any combination of these two powers; at the same time that the Confederation of the Rhine, as we explained in our last number

protected the whole eastern frontier of France; supplied troops and territory against the first shock of an invasion; and carried to perfection that federative system, so long the favorite of the old French cabinets, by which a league of second and third rate powers was kept constantly on foot under the protectorate and presidency of France.

The provisions of a policy exactly opposite, involved, of course, the direct reversal of these arrangements. The Saxony of Napoleon was to be destroyed; and indeed it was only owing to the zeal and adroitness with which Talleyrand exerted the revived authority of France, and enlisted on his side the jealousy of Austria and the sympathies of England, that this ancient title did not altogether disappear from the catalogue of nations. It was urged by Prussia, with the full support of the czar, that the dominions of King Frederic Augustus had been fairly forfeited by his treason to the empire in the War of Liberation, and that his territories, according to Germanic law, were as justly liable to confiscation as those of Henry the Lion. The decision of the congress stopped just short of the capital sentence; and Saxony was suffered to survive as an independent state, though sorely circumscribed in importance and power. Of its Polish provinces we shall speak presently. Its cessions in Germany served to round off and complete the irregular frontiers of Prussia, and to contribute to the augmentations of strength which were thought necessary for the future functions of that power. In the same spirit the Confederation of the Rhine was declared to be dissolved; and the Germanic States were re-organized after a fashion, on which, after our recent notice of the subject, we need not now insist. It should be observed, however, that in addition to the other results anticipated from this measure, there was the obvious advantage of thus excluding France from any such connection with the minor German states, as had heretofore been made so subservient to her views of political aggrandizement. As long as the great Germanic Confederation subsisted in full force, it was impossible that France should again avail herself of any alliance with the smaller powers, to the damage of Austria or Prussia.

The next measure of precaution involved a still more arbitrary distribution of territory. In pursuance of the great scheme of interposing a barrier of compact and consolidated states between the suspected powers of eastern and western Europe, the provinces of Holland and Belgium were fused into a new kingdom of the Netherlands, in favor of the House of Orange, which thus succeeded to a sovereignty of no small political importance. Commanding the mouths of the Scheldt and the Rhine, and supported by the Rhenish provinces of Prussia and the English kingdom of Hanover, it was conceived that the new state would serve as an advanced post to Europe against France, or as a reserve for Europe against Russia. The creation of this power completed the chief territorial arrangements of the congress, by perfecting the

great barrier system which had been devised. Its *fiats* on other points were dictated by the same spirit. The neutrality and independence of Switzerland were studiously recognized and established; and the indispensable kingdom of Sardinia was strengthened even by the sacrifice of the Genoese, so discreditable after the promises of independence by which they had been deluded. The secular sovereignty of the Roman pontiff, which has been so recently called in question, was duly confirmed, though not without some curious debate, both at Vienna and Westminster. The states of the Church were thought by Protestant Prussia to offer an eligible retreat for disinherited Saxony; and even English whigs conceived that no better material for requisite indemnifications could be found elsewhere. The sudden defection of Murat from the cause of the allies facilitated the general recognition of legitimacy which was thought desirable; and enabled the dispensing powers to redistribute the peninsula between the houses of Lorraine and Bourbon. It is proper, also, to mention that a design was entertained of uniting these Italian states by some such federal compact as that which had been devised for Germany; though, as the notion originated with M. de Metternich, it may be easily conceived to have involved no idea of any such unity as was subsequently craved; but simply such an alliance as would have placed the resources of all the principalities more readily at the command of the power predominating in their councils.

From this brief recapitulation of the territorial arrangements of the congress, it will not be difficult to deduce a general idea of the functions attributed to each power in the new political system. It was in central Europe that the difficulties chiefly lay, and where the main strength of the machinery was required. Austria and Prussia, nearly matched in power and resources, and with their ancient feuds now healed by their experience of common peril, were supported, either in front or rear, as occasion might determine, by an array of states artistically grouped for this precise purpose. Germany, with just such a character of unity as the purpose required, was placed almost wholly at their disposal by the terms of the new confederation. To the south lay Switzerland; independent and neutral, preserved in its institutions and its integrity, less by the favor than by the jealousies of the dominant powers, and retaining its sovereign existence on the single condition of excluding all states alike from the advantages derivable in case of war from its fastnesses and its position. To the north was the new-born kingdom of the Netherlands; which, resting on the territories of the Germanic Confederation, completed, along the frontier of France, a *cordon* of states, which it was hoped would be proof against any new outbreaks of ambition or revolution. In this way was the entire group between the Meuse and the Niemen organized, and animated with the single object of repressing for the future any irruptions of France, or any possible encroach-

ments of Russia. The apprehensions respecting the latter power were, however, as yet but indistinctly developed; and it may be said that central Europe entire, flanked on one side by Italy, and on the other by England, was combined and consolidated anew, for the one sole purpose of forming a barrier against France—and effectually confining that indomitable spirit from which all war seemed to spring.

The course which European history subsequently took, and which it is taking at present, renders it now necessary to consider the proceedings of the congress in a point of view from which transactions of this kind have seldom called for so much contemplation—in respect, that is, of the abstract political principles there solemnly sanctioned. It was, in fact, impossible, at the conclusion of what had been emphatically a war of opinions, to omit some definite understanding and decision regarding these opinions, from that compromise of interests and compact of powers which were to secure tranquillity for future generations. We are not now alluding to the moral questions which were overtly introduced into the conferences—such as the abolition of the slave-trade, the suppression of piracy, &c.; but to that general determination respecting the internal politics of particular states which was taken in concert by the sovereigns assembled. This is a point of the greatest importance; for the events which are at this moment convulsing Europe are directly connected with these resolutions, and with the modifications and reversals which they subsequently underwent. However strange it may appear, it is beyond all doubt, that the spirit of the allied powers was at this period *sincerely liberal*. The stream of opinions had been reversed. Originally, revolutionary France had overrun absolutist Europe; but now insurgent and emancipated Europe was repulsing despotic France. The principles which had been invoked in their own favor by the convention and the directory, were now invoked against the oppressions of the empire, by the sovereigns of the continent. It was apparently not more in acknowledgment of the debt they owed to their people, than in furtherance of their own sincere designs, that the several monarchs now stipulated for constitutional governments in their respective dominions. If any reluctance was shown in this competition for popularity, it was on the part of Austria. Prussia deliberately proposed a scheme of almost that very constitution which was at length revived *two and thirty years after*—by the present king. Russia was, of course, called upon for very little exertion as regarded her unawakened provinces; but her propositions on behalf of Poland, which were actually in part realized, were at this time so unboundedly liberal, as to excite serious apprehensions in her western neighbors. The states of the Germanic Confederation were to be advanced to equal and similar privileges; and a kind of model constitution, conveying all the chief rights and liberties of a representative government, was

delineated for general guidance. So entirely were these arrangements considered as flowing from the conclusions, and sanctioned by the guarantee of the congress, that on the occasion of a collision between the states of Wirtemberg and their sovereign, upon a constitutional point, the former parties actually appealed to the subscribing powers of the Treaty of Vienna in confirmation of their rights. How completely these ideas were superseded, we shall see as we proceed.

Such was the substance and such the spirit of the acts of the congress. Many allowances must be made for the circumstances of the time; and for the influence of opinions still obtaining and of recollections still fresh. Europe seemed, as if by the subsidence of a deluge, to be left for a new organization; and after the violation of all natural and political rights to which the world had been habituated, such examples of precautions against violence as we have been relating, must have appeared warrantable and wise. Still it is impossible to overlook the fatal errors thus committed in a treaty which was to regulate public law, and to insure universal tranquillity and contentment for generations to come. The congress took little heed of nationality, of race, of natural sentiments, of historical traditions, or of popular predilections. They treated states and principalities as so many unconscious and lifeless parts of a huge machine. They marshalled provinces and people like squadrons and battalions in a line of battle, calculated by the individual decisions of a commander. They did even more—they carried their distributive powers beyond any pretended compulsion of necessity, and partitioned populations, to satisfy ministerial crotchets or royal greed. There was a formal *partage d'âmes*. Claims to so many millions of souls, founded on previous bargains, presumptions, or services, were put in and recognized, at the cost of all national feelings; and in councils over which no great geographical or historical ability is said to have presided. Nor was all this done in innocence, or ignorance, or without audible expostulation and warning. In the British senate, before yet the arrangements were finally concluded, Sir James Mackintosh denounced aloud the mistaken provisions of the treaty, and exposed the evils of such arbitrary adjudications, in the wisest spirit of political foresight. But the congress had a giant's strength; and they used it, despotically in effect, though, for the most part, not wrongfully in intention. The results have furnished the incidents of European history during the thirty years' peace. *Naturam expulere furcâ*—and the throes and struggles of nature against the violence could never be made to cease. It was to the known spirit of reaction against this unnatural pressure, that the appeals, so familiar to modern ears, were made. It was on the spirit thus engendered, that the French republicans relied when they proclaimed to Europe, *in terrorem*, that a word spoken in Paris was potent enough *donner secousse aux trônes*. No doubt it was. It was the fabric from the hands of the

congress which shook in 1830, and which shakes in 1848. The allied powers constructed an edifice which the diplomacy of Europe has ever since been engaged in transforming, to meet those precise requirements which the congress neglected. Unhappily, too, the mischief was aggravated by supplementary conclusions; and at Carlsbad, Laybach, and Verona, much of what was good in the provisions of Vienna was lucklessly neutralized, while all that was evil was made infinitely worse.

It does not enter into our design to adjudicate between princes and people in those political collisions which followed so closely on the great European act of settlement; our object is confined to the selection of those particular facts which became really influential upon the actual system of Europe, and which will assist us in elucidating its recent character and its present state. Let no reader imagine that we are leading him through irrelevant details, or that we are dragging him to an unconscionable height, before we present him with the promised view. Without such preconceptions as we are now suggesting, no adequate comprehension of the state of Europe can possibly be formed. But as soon as the reader has once realized the character of the political system, with the places and functions of its constituent members, as it was constructed at Vienna, and as it existed after its intervening modifications up to a recent day, he will find that every incident of this wonderful year drops naturally into its place in the historical panorama, and that he can run his eye from Schleswig to Sicily, and from Bucharest to Brunswick, without being deceived by any false light or diverted by any unreal phenomenon.

Twelve months had scarcely elapsed after the ratification and acceptance of this system, when perturbations began to disclose themselves, though with reference less to landmarks than principles. It was hardly to be expected but that some such offences should come. Intermingled and confused with that insurrectionary enthusiasm which had been studiously excited in the war of liberation, there still stalked abroad the pure spirit of Jacobinism, and the military fanaticism which survived the loss of Napoleon. How far the two latter passions really modified the more legitimate yearnings of the former, and whether the alarm of governments or the suspicion of the people was the better founded sentiment, it is not our present business to decide. It is sufficient for our purpose to remark, that the resolutions professed by the allied sovereigns of conceding constitutional privileges to their subjects, were quickly cancelled; and superseded immediately by repressive measures, taken in such earnest concert and under such singular conditions, that the general system of Europe became intimately affected by the consequences of the course now entered upon. To meet this tergiversation of the courts, all the modifications and developments of *carbonarisme* which tradition details, were now put in operation; and every state of Central Europe had its

secret societies for the prosecution of its peculiar object. In Germany the leading idea appears to have involved that revival of imperial or national unity which was so long a proscribed theory, and which has now been so unexpectedly proclaimed, though we can hardly say realized. Among the Poles there was that undying aspiration for distinct nationality, which, hopeless and even useless as it now is to themselves, seems preserved solely as a thorn in the side of their oppressors. The Italians had less definite objects of association and agitation. There was great discontent in the unconsolidated kingdom of Sardinia; and natural disaffection in the revolutionized and ill-governed states of the Peninsula; but the desire of fusing the whole of Italy into a single monarchy under an Italian king, seems not to have been an idea either practically comprehended or generally entertained. France was of course the hot-bed of all revolutionary principles, but the army of occupation then answered for its neutrality, and its people were suspended from that initiative in all commotions which is their high prerogative, as completely as its cabinet was then politely outlawed in the reünions of its august allies.

Upon looking at the date of the holy alliance, at its discoverable tenor, and at the reception which its declarations experienced, we shall perhaps be led to conclude that this famous compact was not in reality any incarnation of those notorious principles which its title usually recalls, and that it was scarcely even a prelude to the more practical conventions which followed it. It was the production of Alexander alone; and was merely a vehicle of those vague and mysterious doctrines of the religious obligations of sovereigns and states, over which the czar delighted to ponder. Its purport was little more than an open and unwavering profession of that faith and those principles upon the ruin of which French dominion had been founded. It was an advised and formal declaration, on the part of the contracting powers, that the doctrines of Christianity should be the rule of their conduct towards others and among themselves. Austria and Prussia accepted and subscribed its conditions, with little sincere sympathy, but with great readiness to conciliate by such insignificant stipulations so important an ally. But that which recommended the alliance to these powers disqualified it for approval in England. The British government was unwilling to commit itself to obligations which were either superfluous or indefinite. If the compact meant no more than it expressed, it was but a gratuitous exposition of the national faith; if any practical duties were concealed beneath its terms, they ought to be more intelligibly specified. It seems clear, however, that no such uneasiness had yet arisen respecting the popular feeling in the several states, as would have suggested any counter-association of governments; and in fact the more practical matters were cared for in a separate convention between Austria, Russia, and Prussia; the

stipulations of which showed that their apprehensions for the future were still confined to the frontiers of France.

But the true tendency of continental policy was not long in disclosing itself. Though at the first reunion of the allied powers at Aix la Chapelle in 1818, no measures were overtly concerted for suppressing the liberal movements by this time set on foot, yet the apprehensions excited, especially in Germany, by these popular manifestations, had been mainly influential in provoking the conferences; and it was speedily determined to retract or suspend those concessions of constitutional privileges which had been formerly promised. These royal reunions and compacts were rapidly repeated. At Carlsbad, at Troppau, at Laybach, and at Verona, conclusions were announced, successively of greater and greater stringency and sweep, amidst explosions of popular discontent, which, according to the feelings or judgment of writers, are represented as either the cause or the effect of the resolutions adopted. In Germany the insurrectionary spirit took the disgraceful form of assassination; in the Italian and Spanish peninsulas, the more dangerous guise of military revolt. But the important point to be observed is, the attitude gradually assumed by the allied powers, and its remarkable influence upon the public policy of Europe. The contracting parties represented themselves as charged with the superintendence of general tranquillity; and characterized their combination against the "revolutionary" spirit of Europe, as the natural continuation of that alliance, which, by overwhelming the power of Napoleon, had restored the peace of the world. The result was a perpetual league of crowned heads, which, if originally directed against license, was soon made available against liberty. The principle now promulgated was this, that if any disturbance of the "tranquillity," constituted and prescribed by the dispensing powers, should occur at any point of Europe, the entire force of the alliance should be immediately employed to suppress it. In this way the political system, as ordinarily organized between sovereign and independent states, was to be superseded by a kind of confederation, which would have transformed the governments of Europe into a diet, of which Austria or Russia would have seized the presidency. Forms of government were put in the same category with configurations of frontier; and the mutual guarantee was extended from integrity of territory to integrity of absolutism. "Intervention," upon these principles, in the internal affairs of an independent state, was proclaimed a duty incumbent upon the allied governors of the world; and so strict was the union thus contracted, and so hearty the concurrence of purpose, that it was hoped wars and tumults would never again be found afflicting nations or dethroning kings.

In accordance then with these views and stipulations, as far as their acceptance could be secured, was the new system of Europe insensibly framed. France appeared in two different capaci-

ties before the eyes of the allies. She was either the France of 1793, the scourge and outlaw of Europe, or she was the France of 1815, the grateful and obliged creation of their own hands. For three years, notwithstanding the adroit and successful assumptions of Talleyrand at Vienna, she was regarded in the former light; her provinces were occupied by foreign troops, and the work of conquest and of peace was still considered incomplete. But at Aix la Chapelle the representations of Richelieu induced the allies to evacuate her territory and she was at the same time formally readmitted to her diplomatic place among nations. Her accession to the terms of the holy alliance was the first exercise, and, as it were, the symbol of her restored rights; but she subsequently displayed some repugnance to the repressive policy of the northern powers, and neither at Carlsbad nor at Troppau was her coöperation cordially given. But the assassination of the Duke de Berri concurred with other events to influence the temper of her government; and eventually she lent her instrumentality to the worst and most conspicuous example of the intervention system—the invasion of Spain. The sudden change produced by the revolution of July, 1830, in what was then becoming a traditionary policy, most readers will be able to recall.

England had stood aloof from all these conventions, and not without reason. In perusing the documents connected with our notice of these transactions, the reader may think that he detects no small portion of personal pique entering into the discussion; and perhaps it may fairly be said that the stand was made rather for administrative independence, than on behalf of popular freedom. But the result was a manifesto from Lord Castlereagh's pen, conveying as round a denunciation as any liberal could desire, of the aggressive combination against the liberties of the world, which would have transformed Europe entire into the Poland of Nicholas or the Naples of Ferdinand. The other powers, however, persisted in their scheme. By a little manœuvring, to which M. de Metternich condescended, Spain, Portugal, and Sweden had been excluded from participation in these supplementary compacts; so that five powers only of the eight contracting parties at Vienna, were engaged in these deliberations. Of England and France we have spoken; but Austria, Russia, and Prussia now entered into an alliance so firm, and upon principles so clearly understood, that the result lost scarcely any material portion of its significance, up to the beginning of the present year. Few results, indeed, have been more extraordinary. That political combination, which upon its first occurrence at the partition of Poland, was described by statesmen and publicists as the most monstrous and unnatural which accident or depravity could have engendered, was thus rendered a permanent and characteristic feature of the system of Europe. The misshapen and stigmatized "coalitions" of '93 became the conspicuous and enduring alliances of the thirty years'

peace; since the ordinary principles of policy never recurred, but were superseded permanently by extraordinary apprehensions and extraordinary precautions. The "three northern powers" were now fused, as it were, into an almost inseparable whole; and it may well be questioned, at this stage of the drama, whether Germany will ever secure, for national purposes, a more efficient unity than that which community of recollections, responsibilities, and fears had established between Prussia, Austria, and Russia.*

On such considerations as these was based the system which, for three and thirty years of general peace, was substantially allowed to regulate the public policy of Europe. Looking at the five dispensing powers, we may say that the elements of disturbance appear to be confined to France and Russia. Between them lay a compact mass of strength, invested solely with the functions of conservatism. All the interests of Prussia and Austria were in the maintenance of the *status quo*. The former power, by the events of the war, had finally secured that increase of territory demanded by the previous disproportion between her resources and her obligations; and for which, in the past century, she had so desperately struggled. The latter power was still more deeply interested in the preservation of the existing equilibrium. Less, relatively speaking, than either of her two northern neighbors had she gained from the dividend of territorial spoils; and there were obvious reasons for apprehending that any further change would be to her prejudice, if not at her expense. Besides this, her peaceable rule in her own provinces depended in no slight degree upon the predominance of those political principles, the maintenance of which, as well as of the territorial arrangements, had now been stipulated by the system established, and which, in fact, she herself had been mainly instrumental in imposing. Italy and Germany served for little but to swell the influence of Austria and Prussia. In the position of Russia there was somewhat more ambiguity. Her enormous extent of territory, so disproportioned to that of her neighbors; her comparative immunity from the worst consequences of war; the restless character of her policy; and the notorious direction of her ambition towards ends irreconcilable with the equilibrium of Europe—concurred with the traditions of the old system, under which she had

been the most wilful disturber of the public peace, to raise certain suspicions respecting her possible deportment. On the other hand, besides the essential antagonism between the political principles of St. Petersburg and Paris, she had actually suffered, no less than other nations, from French aggression; she had been one of the principal instruments in repelling and chastising it; and she was now the most hearty and cordial coöperator in the measures by which such possibilities were to be obviated for the future. There was no reason, therefore, to doubt the original sincerity of her councils. But the fact still remained that she was the only leading power besides France who had something definite to desire; and this presumed community of feeling between the unsatisfied and the dissatisfied, left an opening for overtures which, if they have not resulted in any important combinations, have originated schemes of policy familiar, by name at least, to most of our readers. Indeed, this brief allusion to the circumstances of the great settlement, will explain much of that foreign policy of France, projected or pursued, which is now so interesting, and which we have recently had occasion to describe.

That denunciation of "the Treaties of 1815," which was incessantly repeated by the government restored under these very compacts; which was the first cry of the victorious insurgents of July, and the first proclamation of the young republic of February last, rested entirely upon the circumstances which we have been relating. It is true that, looking strictly to the due and lawful influence of France in the European system, it could not be then argued from facts, and assuredly it cannot be now shown from experience, that she had suffered any serious penalty or deprivation. No such arbitrary interference with her territory took place as had awaited other states less actively concerned. It was only after a repetition of great provocations that the line of her frontier was subjected to the modifications which the common security was thought to demand. Comparatively speaking, little indignation was expressed against the treaty of May, 1814, by which the affairs of France had been originally arranged; and which fixed her frontiers according to the line of November, 1792. But, though the further cessions now exacted were, certainly, not disproportioned to the provocation given, they formed a pretext for an outcry, which has but little abated ever since. A part of the department of Ardennes was taken off, as was also the Saarbruck district, up to Landau, while Chambéry reverted again to its ancient lords; Geneva received a little enlargement, and the protectorate of the tiny principality of Monaco was transferred to Sardinia. "The line of the Rhine" was not *lost* by the treaties of 1815; for it had never belonged to any France recognized in the history of peaceful and independent Europe; nor had it been temporarily gained but by the most violent and arbitrary invasion of ancient rights—by the annexation of Belgium, the subjugation of Holland, and the violent dispossession and

* After looking back at the politics of the last thirty years, the reader may be amused with the following opinion of one of the most sagacious, well-informed, and experienced writers of his day:—"This transient union of Austria, Prussia, and Russia (in 1772) was a singular phenomenon, produced by a conjunction of extraordinary circumstances, assisted by the genius of one of the greatest men of any age, and beyond the sphere of all the calculations of ordinary politics. Such phenomena must always defeat them; they exceed the science, and expose its insufficiency. A similar combination will, perhaps, not occur in the course of many centuries; it could never last; its permanence would be in contradiction to the nature of things, and to the necessary order of all political relations."—Gentz's Reply to Hauterive's "*Etat de la France à la Fin de l'An VIII.*" (written in 1801,) chap. 3. Now who will be bold enough to pronounce upon the state of Europe?

ejection of some score of the princes of Germany. Yet this is the frontier termed "natural" by French writers; for the restoration of which half the nation has been clamoring and cabelling ever since 1815, and the loss of which they have never ceased to represent as an indignity and a stigma. It is certain, indeed, that all this agitation and struggle on the part of France against the settlement of 1815, has sprung exclusively from an ambitious desire to recover an influence which was not legitimate; and a frontier which, however geographically natural, was never historically rightful. It has been a mere question of territory, not of principle. As far as the other and more justly offensive ordinances of the congress went, they have long ago been cancelled. Whatever curb may have been kept upon Italy and Germany, France has been left to modify her institutions and government as seemed best to her, in the fullest license of political freedom; and few will deny that she has availed herself largely enough of the privilege. If the necks of the French were still galled by a government of a dynasty imposed by an armed alliance, there would be more reason in these restless clamors for a new organization of the political system; but, as it is, such protests can be only regarded as the irrepressible symptoms of feverish and dissatisfied ambition.

From what we have premised, no difficulty will be found in comprehending the various schemes of policy by which French cabinets have been, and still are tempted. The problem being to recover some of the lost influence of France, and to supersede existing arrangements on the eastern frontier by some adjudication more flattering to the nation, there appeared to be two systems of operation—that of the *Alliance Russe*, and that of the old federative policy of Richelieu and the Capets. The first system was based upon the probabilities of conciliating the court of St. Petersburg by a community of interests created for the occasion. As France and Russia were the only two powers who wanted anything, there appeared a natural opportunity of reciprocating good offices, and of combining their efforts for the attainment of their respective ends. Sometimes this system was developed in a deliberate scheme for an offensive alliance, such as we described the other day in the case of the French republicans, where the partition of Turkey on one side, and the annexation of the Rhenish provinces on the other, were to be the undissembled conditions of the projected treaty. At other times it was advocated with less determined, and, perhaps, less daring purposes, assuming the form merely of a certain leaning towards the Russian connection as a principle of policy, in preference to any approaches to other courts of Europe. It is to be observed that this was the characteristic policy of all the governments of the restoration. Notwithstanding the indebtedness of that dynasty to Great Britain and her other allies, the Bourbons were no sooner seated on the throne than they turned towards St. Petersburg with the views which we have been describing; and from M. de Richelieu even down to M.

de Polignac—English as was that minister in his personal inclinations—there is scarcely a statesman to be found who did not advocate the *Alliance Russe* as the true policy of France. Most emphatically is it worth remarking, that this policy, which represented nothing but the selfishness of dynastic ambition or popular interests, was the darling system of the republicans, as well as of legitimists; while it was reserved for a constitutional government to forego such intrigues for the nobler consideration of succoring the struggles of independence. The legitimists, with all their professions of obligation—the republicans, with all their professions of generosity and liberalism—concurred in taking territorial aggrandizement as the groundwork of their policy. It was the government of Louis Philippe which exchanged such visionary conspiracies for the more disinterested objects of the *Alliance Anglaise*, and the cordial promotion of constitutional reforms. The common cry of M. de Chateaubriand and M. Louis Blanc was, "the line of the Rhine"—at whatever expense to the nations of Europe, or whatever violence to the duties of France. That of M. Guizot and his colleagues was constitutional freedom, and the *entente cordiale* by which alone so honorable a cause was to be secured. Alas! that it should not have remained so to the end.

The old federative system of France consisted in such a concerted alliance with the several minor powers as should make them at all times available for any combination against one of the leading states; and it is surprising to what an extent this system was practically carried, considering the adroitness and versatility requisite to the successful adoption of so singular a policy. How the states of the empire were conciliated to this scheme, and how closely they became attached to France, we explained on a very recent occasion. Spain—for after the peace of the Pyrenees the kingdom of Philip II. had definitively fallen to the second rank of European powers—was virtually consigned to the influence of France by the Treaty of Utrecht, and was formally attached to her train by the Family Compact. Naples and Parma, through the same connection, were united in the same interests; and the antagonism traditionally subsisting between the emperor and the pope, together with the natural apprehensions of the republics of Genoa and Venice, combined to bring the whole Italian Peninsula within the sphere of attraction; and even in Malta, from the constitution and traditions of the order, French influence was usually predominant. So intimately was Poland connected, after the same curious fashion, with France, that its dependence was recognized in the proverbs of the nation; and Turkey itself, which owed to this very policy of the Most Christian King its introduction into the European system, was attached to the same scheme so strongly, that a rupture between Louis XIV. and the Porte is recorded in history as a prodigious and unnatural occurrence, and the old traditional tie of amity was, in fact, only definitely snapped by Napoleon's invasion of Egypt. This system received its first severe blow at the par

tion of Poland; but it was renewed on a gigantic scale by Napoleon; its revival and adaptation to the present state of things was warmly advocated by the French republicans; and only eighteen months ago, it was represented by M. Capefigue as the policy which the state of Europe, the course of events, and the constitution of M. Guizot's cabinet, were irresistibly conspiring to restore.

The operations of the general system we have been here describing, compose the political history of Europe during the thirty years' peace; and it will only be necessary to say a few words upon the modifications of the original settlement which had been introduced in the interval, before we come to that present state of things, to the illustration of which the previous remarks have been directed. The reader, we hope, will not have come thus far, without discovering the *point de depart* to which he is approaching. A just comprehension of the state of Europe is only to be derived from a clear view of the actual system under which its family of nations have been living up to the moment of the changes now threatened, and from a due understanding of the functions discharged by each particular state in the preservation of the general equilibrium. It is only by appreciating what existed, that we can determine what it really is, that has been, or is likely to be, destroyed. It is only by reviewing the principles which have hitherto influenced, and the compacts which have hitherto guided, the public policy of Europe, that we can properly comprehend the character and significance of those movements by which it is now hoped to supersede them.

The interval between the original pacification and the present convulsions, is divided into two equal portions by the French revolution of July, 1830; which conveniently separates one period from another, and introduces an epoch which may be regarded as a kind of transition period between that which preceded it, and that which perhaps is now to follow. Up to that year, the policy of the allied powers, which we have described above, had an almost undisputed sway; and the incidents of European history during the fifteen years which intervened were mainly confined to such manifestations of its force as were supplied by the successive suppression of liberal movements in Naples, Piedmont, Portugal, and Spain. But the revolution of July gave a new aspect to affairs. Not only was France—a leading power—transformed into a real constitutional monarchy, and transferred, in the balance of political principles, from the side of the allies of Laybach, to the side of Great Britain and its reformed parliament, but the effect of this metamorphosis was most sensibly felt in the several revolutions which followed, then as now, in the train of Parisian catastrophes. We need not repeat the story of eighteen years ago; but the moral of the Belgian question, and the decision of Europe on its merits, is so strikingly illustrative of the change then introduced into the political system, and has so pointed a bearing upon the

political relations of the present day, that it may be of some advantage to notice it.

Of all the creations of the Vienna congress, there was none which, superficially viewed, appeared a more excellent or admirable work than the kingdom of the Netherlands. It fulfilled all the conditions required in the territorial distribution of this part of Europe; it indemnified a princely house which had deserved well of the dispensing powers; and it seemed obviously and equally calculated for the best interests of the states which were to compose it. The Austrian provinces of the Netherlands, and the independent republic of Holland had, before the first revolution, formed the rampart of Northern Europe against France, which it was now desired to reconstruct; and so naturally was the proposed scheme recommended, that even in the preceding century the union of Holland with the Austrian Netherlands, under a prince of the House of Orange, was advocated as one of the best imaginable combinations for the tranquillity of Europe. For the last twenty years Austria had waived her claims over these distant and costly provinces; and there appeared no possibility of organizing them more judiciously than by uniting their interests with those of their maritime neighbors. Holland was a commercial, Belgium a manufacturing state; what one country fabricated, the other might export; and thus the capabilities of each would be combined for the advantage of both. Even as regarded historical traditions, there was something to be said for the reconstitution of the Netherlands. Nothing, at all events, could appear more reasonable or commendable than the experiment. It was in vain hinted that strong diversities of religious faith and hereditary institutions would probably conspire, with the inextinguishable instinct of nationality, to create repugnances incompatible with its success. Such objections were overruled; and the kingdom of the Netherlands took its appointed place among the powers of Europe. Everybody remembers the sequel. At the very first shock the artificial edifice fell asunder; and the Belgians demanded an acknowledgment of their separate nationality. Europe had combined, by solemn stipulations, to guarantee the House of Orange in the possession of this dominion; and the House of Orange claimed the benefit of the suretyship. Yet the constructing powers reconsidered their work by the light of experience; and owing to the new-born cordiality between England and France, liberal principles carried the day. France and England said "yes;" the three northern powers abstained, in the face of such a combination, from saying "no;" and Belgium became an independent state. What is now remarkable is, that this concession to the reasonable requirements of a people, has not been attended with any of the political results which might have been predicted from such a reversal of the original scheme. Independent Belgium appears just as little likely as the Southern Netherlands would have been to subserve the interests or ambition of France. Whether

from the "English intrigues" at the siege of Antwerp, as M. Louis Blanc thinks, or from the good sense of the people and the government as we should rather suggest, it is certain that Belgium has discharged her European duties, in her own way, as well as the allied sovereign were for making her do, in theirs; the difference being this, that whereas the fire-proof fabric of the congress of Vienna was in a blaze with the first sparks of revolution, the more natural edifice substituted by the conference of London, has remained safe and entire in the very heart of a conflagration; and may now be envied by some of those states which looked so suspiciously on its reconstruction. The subsequent events in the Spanish Peninsula illustrated still more conspicuously the influence exercised upon the destinies of Europe by the element thus powerfully introduced into the operations of the political system. In spite of the resistance, still passive, of the three northern powers, the triumph of constitutional principles over the doctrines of absolutism was again openly symbolized in Portugal and Spain. In fact, the quadruple alliance was the counter-manifesto to the holy alliance.

We need not make any specific allusion to the events immediately preceding the revolutions of last February and March. It is worth remarking, however, how general seems to have been the persuasion, in political and diplomatic circles, even before these convulsions, that the time had come for the convocation of another congress, not only to settle those numerous points of international differences which the mere lapse of thirty years, even under the most effective of systems, would be sure to introduce, but even to undertake the remodelling of Europe upon a scheme which would supply the omissions, as well as correct the errors, of the Congress of Vienna.* We may be now almost inclined to smile at our agitation upon the Spanish marriages, or the Swiss schism; but the last breach of public faith with respect to Poland will hardly be forgotten, even amidst a whirlwind of revolutions. It is remarkable that M. Capefigue's treatise on the acts and guarantees of the Vienna Congress, the title of which we have prefixed to these observations, was called forth solely by this deed, which he regarded as virtually repealing that code of public law which the treaties of 1815 had created; and by which the political system of Eu-

rope had since been governed. Cracow seems to have been "the diamond necklace" of 1846!

From the height we have at length attained, we are enabled to take a comprehensive glance at the present state of Europe. We can observe how far the harmony and effectiveness of the general system has been disturbed, or is threatened, by the recent catastrophes; and whether any of its members, either from internal disorganization or external pressure, have been rendered incapable of discharging their appointed functions. We can examine the perils to which the body politic may appear exposed through any of the ordinary sources of disorder, such as the undue aggrandizement of any leading power, or the destruction of any minor power having a critical mission in the system, or from the constitution of a power altogether new. Should no such serious convulsions appear probable, we can ascertain how far the reciprocal relations of European states have been affected by the recent movements; and what modifications of the system we have been describing may now be feared or be expected.

Eight months ago it did certainly appear probable that the public law of 1815 would be swept away by the storms of the present year, as completely as that of 1648 had been scattered to the winds by the revolutions of 1791; and that the total subversion of the political fabric would leave no occasion for any such comments as we are here offering. But this extreme hazard appears now to be passed. The force of the shock it may be hoped is spent; and though the constitutional edifices of the continent are still trembling on their bases, there seems no longer such serious reason for apprehending any permanent loss of equilibrium. France, which gave, as usual, the first signal of disturbance, has also set the unexpected example of returning wisdom; and what we have recently asserted of the domestic proceedings of the French nation, may now be yet more unhesitatingly predicated of its external relations. As far as we may judge from what has apparently become the set tide of events, the France of 1848 is not likely to assume any other attitude towards Europe than that of the France of 1847. Hitherto, French revolutions have affected, more or less violently, the system of Europe, because they introduced entirely new principles into the general policy of a country so capable of influencing the great European commonwealth. Thus the revolution of 1789 overthrew all public law whatever; because French influence became supreme in continental Europe, and the principles of the first revolutionists survived through all the changes of the Parisian constitutions. In the same way the revolution of 1830 produced its effects, because the principles of those parties who achieved it continued to shape the policy of the government afterwards; and constitutional France, as we have already said, was in this way drawn towards the English alliance, from the *Alliance Russe*, and from the compacts of Verona, which had moulded the policy of her former cabinets. And similarly, if

* The amusing pamphlet which we have placed at the head of the present paper, is an illustration of the spirit here spoken of. "European Remodellings" was written before the events of February; and yet purposes, in order to avoid the definite tendencies of national ambition, and remedy certain anomalies, a reconstruction of the Continent little less thorough than that actually portended six months ago. Germany was to be reduced to the five independent states of Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Hanover; the inheritances of the extinguished houses being divided among the survivors, according to the relationship of their sovereigns or the natural suggestions of locality. Charles Albert was to be sovereign of the Lombard-Venetian kingdom from Venice to Genoa, with his capital at Milan. Tuscany was to absorb the minor duchies. Poland was to be reconstituted. Russia was to have the Danubian provinces; but Austria, as mistress of the northern half of European Turkey, was to be interposed between her legions and the glistening bait of the Bosphorus.

the existing French government really represented the identical republic which was proclaimed in February last from the steps of the Hotel de Ville, we might confidently anticipate that the foreign politics of the republicans, such as we on that occasion described them, would very characteristically modify the mission of France, and materially influence, if not altogether subvert, the system of Europe. It is now, however, notorious that this is not the case. Excepting in so far as the effects of the original impulse may survive, (and these, we should imagine, must have been considerably qualified by subsequent warnings,) it can hardly be said that republican France is now exerting on the affairs of Europe any influence, beyond or beside that legitimate influence which pertains to so great a nation. The foreign policy of the French Republic, as defined by M. de Lamartine, was indeed something to feed the speculations of Europe: but as interpreted by General Cavaignac, it is little but the policy of the best periods of the constitutional monarchy. We might, perhaps, say even more than this; for it may indeed be questioned whether any recent French government would have been strong enough, as things then stood, to hold a French army well in hand at the foot of the Alps, while trumpets were sounding on the Tessino. France is not only recovering her position, but she is fencing it about with the cautious jealousy which recent perils have suggested. It would be difficult to select any period since the last war, at which her external demeanor has been characterized by more satisfactory moderation or greater prudence, than under the brief interlude of the Cavaignac dictatorship. Even if the style and title of the republic be finally retained, yet it does not seem likely that any very formidable anomaly will be introduced into the system of monarchical Europe. The draft of the constitution as (perhaps not finally) revised, provides for as staid and as respectable an impersonation of sovereignty as is perhaps consistent with the character of the crisis. A president, elected for four years, and reëligible after a like interval, with no inconsiderable patronage, and with a *traitement* more munificent than that of the First Consul, and only inferior to that of the *Grand Electeur* of M. Sieyès, will be an acceptable substitute for a committee of public safety, or a directory. Most reports concur in designating the present chief of the executive power as the probable inaugurator of this new office; and if this should indeed be the result of the approaching election, Europe, as well as France, will apparently have reason to be thankful. A firm and temperate policy, combining the national readiness for war, with a resolute determination, upon any creditable conditions, to preserve peace, is what the events of the last three months lead us to hope from General Cavaignac. As regards the internal condition of his country, there is no present prospect of its falling into any such contagious or uncontrollable disorganization as would affect its relations with the other powers of Europe. That

there should still survive a possibility of such a catastrophe, is part of the price which Frenchmen must pay for their republic; but the hazard is less than could have been hoped for some months back. Order will, in all likelihood, retain its present supremacy over anarchy; and as to the particular forms into which this order may be developed, it signifies but little. Under any probable conditions, France will still apparently be the France of the last fifteen years, as well with respect to her European mission as to her domestic government. It may, perhaps, be thought, that a possible restoration of the elder Bourbons might involve a return to the old legitimist policy, and revive the combinations of 1823; but this is a contingency not very probable—in either of its assumptions. As far as speculation can be warranted in such a case as this, we may anticipate that the foreign policy of the republic will be nearly the foreign policy of the constitutional monarchy, with the advantage, perhaps, of being exempted from those complications which dynastic interests were found to create. We may see another Ancona perhaps; but not another Marenco. There is no reason why the National Assembly should be "republican" on this point alone; nor has it given any indications of being so disposed. Propagandism has been disclaimed and discouraged as pointedly as communism; and the cry of "Poland" had no better success than the cry of "organized labor." These presumptions are confirmed by the attitude already taken by the French government upon the Italian question, which has brought about a situation singularly analogous to that of 1831. While we write, France and England are again acting in concert to procure a modification of the treaties of 1815 in favor of an insurgent people at the hands of an ancient ally; and most earnestly is it to be hoped that the affairs of Lombardy may be arranged as temperately as were the affairs of Belgium—with equal advantage to the system of Europe, and less incidental disturbance of its peace.

The respective positions of Austria and Prussia are characterized by singular embarrassments. In the first place, there is this most important fact to be noticed, that—as regards the joint relations previously subsisting between these states towards the rest of Europe—that alliance of the three northern powers, of which we have recorded the origin and the influence, must now be considered at least suspended, if not finally broken up. In fact, no incident of the late convulsions has been more remarkable than this, that Berlin and Vienna have been made to impersonate the traditional character of revolutionary Paris; and to proclaim on their own proper territories those very principles which it has hitherto been their chief political function to neutralize and denounce. The drag has not only slipped away from the wheel of the machine, but it is now actually dangling at the horses' heels, and stimulating their speed. That combination which represented the principle of conservatism in the system has disappeared.

There no longer exists the traditional alliance of Austria, Russia, and Prussia to counterbalance the revolutionary tendencies of Southern and Central Europe, or to modify the constitutional influences of England and France. How far this ancient understanding may be preserved (for future reproduction) in the breasts of the respective sovereigns, is another question. The practice, which in olden times obtained throughout Europe, of considering foreign politics as exclusively the personal concerns of the monarch, subsisted till a very recent date in the kingdoms alluded to; and one of the most obstinate stands made by the Prussian court was in behalf of the king's right to reserve from the inspection or control of the new ministry his correspondence with certain foreign cabinets. Rumor states, and with no lack of likelihood, that their august majesties of Prussia, Austria, and Russia think nearly alike upon public matters; but, however this may be, it is clear that there can be no return to the policy of past times until the work of the recent revolutions has been entirely undone;—a contingency not immediately probable. At present, Russia can meet with no more sympathy at Vienna or Berlin than at Paris; and thus all such functions in the European system as have been hitherto discharged by the "three northern powers" must cease and determine.

There is another consideration, affecting even still more seriously the European relations of these two states. It is a point apparently yet undecided, whether they are to be preserved at all in any such independent political existence as they have hitherto enjoyed. Our recent observations on the projected Germanic Empire showed how deliberately it was contemplated to obliterate the names of Austria and Prussia from the European map; and to absorb these first-rate and most influential powers in a new and gigantic nationality, of which it was difficult to define the function or anticipate the course. As regards the final accomplishment of the project, we have seen no reason to repudiate the misgivings which we then expressed. So little hearty or cordial coöperation towards this object is to be discovered in the proceedings of the various German governments, that we are almost induced to wonder whence the power is derived which still keeps the experimental machinery in motion. Austria, though gratified with the provisional lieutenantancy of the new government, is so notoriously disaffected to the scheme, that strong resolutions have just been proposed in the Frankfort Assembly condemnatory of her administrative policy, and recommending the authoritative intervention of the central power. Prussia is naturally still less satisfied with her allotted destiny; and so generally has the "nationality" of March last been superseded in this kingdom by a less comprehensive sentiment, that "genuine Germanity" is now confined to a minority consisting mainly of students and clubbiests; while "specific Prussianism" is undisguisedly professed by all classes, from the accomplished minister who has just preferred the service of his immediate master before that of the

imperial governor, down to the soldiers of the army who declined by any act of homage to set the lieutenant of the empire above the sovereign of Berlin. Nay, in the Holstein negotiation, Prussia deliberately placed her independent authority beside, if not above, that of the central power. Bavaria is reported to be reviving the ancient traditions of her cabinet; and to be looking across the Rhine for company. Certain it is, at least, that she shows no disposition to recognize the authorities of Frankfort. Hanover declined with such characteristic abruptness the invitation to disown herself, that hints were thrown out of summary proceedings against so dangerous an example, and it was proposed at once to declare the dominions of King Ernest an "immediacy" of the new empire—an instructive instance, indeed, of the revived prerogatives of the Cæsars. The minor states, though with less imperative motives, show an almost equal disinclination to fuse their individualities in a German unity. Yet we should not be justified in dismissing the scheme as a palpable failure. There is, in the first place, a steady doggedness of purpose in the Frankfort Assembly, resulting no doubt from the national character of its constituents, which invests its proceedings with far more significance than those of other similar bodies; not to mention the strength of the party in Germany, which does sincerely and conscientiously yearn for this mystic unity, however mystic or ill-conceived may be its purpose. Next, it is manifest that at all events the project will not be dropped without a resolute experiment, of which indeed we at this moment behold the partial operation; and considering, moreover, the extent to which certain illustrious personages have been committed in its favor, it cannot be unreasonable to suspect that some modification of the scheme, at least, may be brought about; and that the attempt will exert some permanent influence on the configuration of Germany. It is necessary, therefore, to include this contingency of a "German Empire" among the subjects of the present review.

In the mean time, we can only conjecture the resultant policy of this extraordinary compound of antagonist traditions, by observing the conduct of the existing Assembly; which embodies, in some sort, the future nationality. Though there are certainly moments when it seems doubtful whether this Assembly is a much more faithful representation of the real sentiments of the Germanic states, than other minor conventions are of their respective countries, yet it would be unjust to deny this body the praise of a certain temperate and serious demeanor, under circumstances calculated to induce a contrary deportment. Its debates, too, upon the tempting subject of foreign politics, were distinguished by considerable knowledge and ability; not untinctured, however, with an illiberality scarcely consistent with the position of the debaters. It seems evident, by the attitude assumed both towards Italians and Slavonians, that the Germans are by no means disposed to give to other nationalities the license they demand

for their own. The leading idea has hitherto been, not unnaturally, the consolidation of the German race by all requisite institutions, and the extension of the national frontiers by somewhat unscrupulous interpretation of public law. They have laid resolute hands upon Danish Schleswig and Polish Posen; and they concurred in sanctioning the claims of Austria, and in congratulating the victorious Radetsky. But, in reflecting over the probable influence of the new empire upon the European system, we need hardly, perhaps, apprehend that it could be exerted in any destructive form. For it cannot be denied that this projected unity is but the consummation of the political theory propounded at the last reconstruction of the public law of Europe. It was argued, both then and since, that the further consolidation of the Germanic states could be carried, the better it would be for all parties; and that the true policy of Europe required the diminution, as far as was practicable, of the number of independent powers within these territories, and the formation, in their stead, of as compact a body as could be constituted between the Vistula and the Rhine. In fact, the Confederation of 1815 was but a provisional substitute for the unity then unattainable; and it would be impossible to argue that a political work, which was the very end to which all intervening arrangements had been made to tend, could be otherwise than favorable to that great result—the tranquillity of Europe—with a view to which all these arrangements had been devised. Speaking with reference to the general system, the empire of the Frankfort Assembly is the very model of that territorial configuration which was imperfectly prescribed by the Vienna Congress. The unity of Germany, too, besides settling the barrier question of the north and west, would also get rid of the special discontents of Saxony and of certain minor principalities which have never yet recovered their good temper, by educing all at once to a fraternal level of mediatization and equality.

It is obvious, however, that the abstraction of two leading powers out of five from the European family cannot but intimately affect the whole commonwealth; and it is yet uncertain how far they may carry their respective traditions into the nationality in which they would be absorbed. Possibly they might struggle to invest with the aggregate influence of the empire those particular forms of policy which they have hitherto advocated in their independent capacities; so that the political traditions of great German cabinets may become like those of our great English parties; and the policy of the empire may be Prussian or Austrian, as that of England may be whig or tory. A contingency, too, not impossible, is that of the late confederation being superseded by a duality instead of a unity. At the congress of 1815, as well as on earlier occasions, it was suggested that Germany offered scope for two confederations; and that the northern states might group themselves round Prussia, while the southern took

Austria as the centre of attraction. Symptoms have been shown of a tendency to some such crystallization on the present occasion; and if this should be the case, then, of course, (putting the late revolution of principles out of the question,) Austria and Prussia will just resume their old places in the system; although, from the respective positions of the two powers, the latter would always gain in a greater ratio than the former, from equal augmentations of strength.

If, however, the creation of a German Empire was a contingency too little improbable to be passed over in silence, it is at least no such imminent or certain occurrence as to justify us in dismissing without remark the actual state of its intended members—considered in their old-fashioned capacities of Austria and Prussia. The first of these powers has just added another example to the instances already on record of the vitality and strength which may still reside in an empire conceived to have fallen into superannuation and decrepitude. Though pointed at, even before the recent convulsions, as an illustration of the decay to which a state might be brought by a parade of impotent absolutism and a blind persistence in an obsolete and unaccommodating policy, and though exposed to the first and fullest brunt of the late movement, under circumstances of internal disorganization which seemed to confirm all the predictions of her adversaries and rivals, she has yet held her own against all comers; has rallied her forces around her standard, and has at length fairly repulsed the aggressors on their own chosen ground. Notwithstanding the apparent incoherence, and even the actual repulsion, which does partially exist between the multitudinous parts of her overgrown and unwieldy empire, and which has been increased by the operation of late events, yet still, as if by some instinctive and spontaneous effort, her resources have been displayed in such concentrated and successful vigor, as to set all doubts upon this point at rest. For all external purposes it really appears that the Austrian Empire is at least as powerful now, as at any period since she had last occasion to try her strength in arms. A loyal attachment to the imperial house, springing perhaps from various motives, but as conspicuous in the military colonists of South Hungary as in the mountaineers of the Tyrol, combines with a certain sentiment of ambitious pride to centralize and keep together the heterogeneous constituents of the empire. In the final advance against the retreating Piedmontese, the Hungarian hussars vied with the light horse of Croatia and the jägers of Austria Proper, in appropriating the honors of the day. Nor was this merely the result of military discipline or spirit, for it is clear that the war has throughout been popular in the several provinces; and that there was a general resolution to maintain at all hazards in this quarter the integrity of the empire. As to the political principles introduced into the imperial councils, though it is true that a spirit more purely democratic than that prevailing in Paris or Berlin seems to have en-

trenched itself in the Austrian capital, yet it only rules in the absence of any substantial opposition; and it is reported that the victorious return of Radetsky, coöperating with Prince Windischgrätz from the north, and the Ban Jellachich from the south, is likely to restore the *status quo* of Vienna, as completely as he has restored that of Milan. We shall have presently to speak of transactions which will doubtless modify the relations of the transalpine provinces of the empire, and of a most momentous movement of race, which though yet undeveloped, menaces its whole constitution; but, upon the whole, perhaps, there is more reason than six months ago would have been thought possible, to conjecture that if there is to be an Austria at all, its position in the European system may survive substantially undisturbed.

It is mainly in what may be termed her moral capacity that Prussia appears to have suffered any serious shock. Her material and territorial empire has been neither decentralized nor disorganized. Silesia, Brandenburg, and Eastern Prussia are of one accord as to unity and purpose. Even the Rhenish provinces are undisturbed; and the mishaps of the kingdom seem to be confined to that portion of Posen which it was thought expedient to dismember and relinquish to the old Sclavonic element of its population. Recent events have afforded convincing proof that any independent Prussia will still be the Prussia of the great Frederic. Her power and place in the system promise to be the same; but the direction in which her influence will be hereafter exerted remains to be decided between the population of the kingdom and the assembly of Berlin. It seems almost certain, speaking broadly, that the actual preponderance of power resides, if not with the court and its old supporters, yet with the constitutional party and the king; though there has been hitherto a most marked and conspicuous reluctance to put it forth against the turbulent minority, which has shown such a mischievous inclination to protract the disorders of March. It is possible, and perhaps probable, that the cordial understanding of the three northern powers for the old purposes of policy, will never be purely revived; and that the hereditary traditions of Prussia must, in this respect, be replaced by some new system. Nevertheless, though her people may secure a constitutional government, there are, as yet, but too many impediments in the way of her alliance, upon these principles, with the two great constitutional powers of the west.

The attitude of Russia during these events has been characteristic and natural. She is calling forth all her resources against a possible contingency, and levies have been drawn, as in 1812, from the very shores of the Caspian. Her Polish provinces are huge garrisons of men and *matériel*; and vast bodies of troops are concentrated at intervals along the whole western frontier, from the Niemen to the mouths of the Danube. Still she resolutely abstains from actual intervention; and in her diplomatic circular addressed to the several

courts of Germany, she declares in the most earnest terms that all her preparations have been and are most strictly defensive and pacific. But, as regards her general policy, she is once more isolated. It is true that she may have recently drawn more closely to the courts of Denmark and Sweden, but this is upon a simple point of territorial guarantee; and her sentiments on this head, we believe, are shared by the liberal cabinet of England and the "republican" assembly of France. Whilst, for all those purposes of European policy which were defined at Troppan, and have been so repeatedly exemplified since, Russia appears to be left, for the moment at least, without an ally. In a war of "opinions" she would, as far as can be seen at present, have one side to herself. Whether she may lend a less reluctant ear than hitherto to the future proposals of France, may depend no less on the temptations which the latter power can offer, than on the political constitution it may assume. The national purposes of Russia have been always conflicting between the innate desire of aggrandizement on one side, and the dread of political contagion on the other. Poland might perhaps be conciliated and incorporated; even Constantinople might perhaps be brought within that frontier which has stretched, in one hundred and fifty years, from the Upper Dnieper to the Lower Danube. But, then, these desirable consummations are inseparable from a total abandonment of that policy which has hitherto ruled the councils of the Romanoffs.

Of the minor powers of Europe, the most important for the purpose of our present discussion, are Switzerland, Sardinia, and Belgium. The position of the first of these states is somewhat curious. After setting an example of internal commotion, which reached the extremity of civil war, the Swiss Confederation is now secure and tranquil; while war and revolution are literally encircling its frontiers. The political operations, however, upon which, in connection with the causes of the late struggle, it is now noiselessly employed, are of no slight significance as affecting its position in the general system, and its relations with the dispensing powers of Europe. The two parties whose struggles have lately distracted Switzerland, have existed in the cantons ever since the convulsions of 1789, with the same principles and, virtually, the same objects. The point in dispute is the political constitution of the country. The democratic party desire an effective unity, to be raised on the ruins of the cantonal sovereignties. They wish Switzerland to become one indivisible democratic republic, in which there shall be no power independent of the will of the numerical majority. The opposite party, as most readers, since the events of last autumn, will be aware, desire, along with more or less of aristocracy, to preserve such a federal constitution as shall leave the sovereignty of each canton safe and intact. These parties both pleaded their cause at the Congress of Vienna; and considerable discussion ensued upon the best means of organizing

a state so intimately concerned in the preservation of the general equilibrium. The highest interests of Europe, indeed, demand the inviolable neutrality of Switzerland. What the Channel does for France and England, Switzerland does for Eastern and Western Europe. Its possession would almost put France at the mercy of Austria, or Austria at the mercy of France—as it actually did in the campaigns respectively of 1814 and 1800. It was on this account that so much interest was taken by the allied powers in the internal organization of the state. All their efforts were employed to render it both as peaceable and as strong as possible, so that the temptations or opportunities of its neighbors to violate this solemn neutrality might be scanty and few. Its internal organization, indeed, involved more important considerations than its external power; for there was scarcely a probability that it could be rendered absolutely proof by its own strength against any aggression of the frontier states; whereas, by such a constitution as should make it least likely to give offence to its neighbors, they would at least be deprived of those pretenses for intervention, which the most unscrupulous ambition is generally found to wait for. With such a purpose, the congress adopted the views of the federalist or conservative party; and devised for the constitution of Switzerland that *Pacte Fédéral* which existed till the other day. Neither our purpose nor our limits permit us now to trace the local or general revolutions of the interval. Most of the cantonal governments of Switzerland have, as is well known, undergone material changes; and attempts have been more than once made to modify the pact according to the views of the party which conceived that it had acquired the preponderance. These attempts have hitherto failed; but they have been more resolutely renewed since the principle of cantonal independence was weakened by the events of last autumn; and a new pact, devised by the party in the ascendant, is now offered for the acceptance of the cantons. At the time we are writing, it is reported that some four or five negative votes are expected. It is less, however, with the result of this experiment, than with the tendency of the whole transaction, that we are here concerned. The late pact was not forcibly imposed upon the confederation by the congress, but it was tendered, with the distinct intimation that the recognition of Swiss neutrality and independence was conditional upon its acceptance and preservation; and it was so received. These conditions are now likely to be violated; and, what is more, they will be violated at the instance and for the purposes of that party whose policy and sympathies have directly tended to defeat some of the principal ends for which the constitution was originally devised. Nothing could be more natural or appropriate than that this neutral and inviolable republic should serve as a European asylum for fugitives in political trouble; but when it was actually made, as repeatedly within the last fifteen years, a base of hostile operations on the part of

these refugees against all the states on its frontiers, it became the very opposite of what was intended; and scarcely a single power was left without a decent pretext for attacking it. At this minute the confederation has been put upon its defence by Marshal Radetsky, for having harbored a corps of armed Italians, contrary to the usages of war—a reckless course of policy, indeed, for a state which has been described as being, in all but its mountains, a Poland.

The position of Sardinia, though apparently more critical, perhaps scarcely entails so many serious contingencies. To the late *coup de théâtre* in Lombardy we need give no more than an allusion. But though apparently at the mercy of a victorious enemy, and clearly defeated in his patriotic (or ambitious) views, it is still possible that Charles Albert, through the concurring interests of Europe and Austria, may actually gain a noble province by a lost campaign! The obvious political expediency of strengthening the prince of these mountain passes, has contributed, in modern history, to that incessant aggrandizement of the family of Savoy, which in earlier times as always resulted from the unvarying instinct of its members. It is possible that the Treaty of Milan may continue what the Treaty of Utrecht began, and secure at length to the royal house of Savoy those fertile districts of Lombardy, and that famous isle of the Mediterranean, which they have so long coveted, and so often claimed.* It is at least

* For the reasons stated above, we have not allotted any great portion of our space to the affairs of the Two Sicilies; but as they appear likely at this minute to be more than usually interesting, we subjoin such a *resumé* of the old relations of these two countries, as may perhaps throw a little illustration on the issue of the present crisis. Naples and Sicily first appear in modern history as a united country or kingdom after the conquests of the Normans, who won the former territory from the Greeks, and subsequently the latter from the Saracens; and we may remark *à-propos* of these last-mentioned people, that they appear to have kept a firmer hold of this island after their nominal expulsion than of almost any other European conquest. For the Emperor Frederic II. was able, in his quality of King of Sicily, to transplant a military colony of some 30,000 of them into the principate, and the arms of the misbelievers were largely employed by his successors to the no small scandal of Christendom. In fact, the temperament of the whole insular population was strongly oriental, as many of their revolutions showed. In both kingdoms the Greek element had continued so considerable, that Frederic directed his constitutions of A. D. 1231 to be translated into Greek. The elder brother of the Norman conquerors took his seat in the peninsula, and the younger in the island;—the latter being held as a fief of the former—till, upon failure of this elder line, the survivor entered upon the whole inheritance under the same title which he had previously derived from his insular dominion. Being desirous of the royal dignity which hitherto had not been assumed, he bargained with an anti-pope for the distinction; and by this ecclesiastical pretender was the style and title of the "Two Sicilies,"—i. e. peninsular and insular—first devised, though it was not currently borne till some time afterwards.

When this line also failed like the former, the Sicilian crown, after some struggles, passed to the Hohenstauffens, in the person of the Emperor Henry VI., who had married the posthumous child and eventual heiress of the first king of the Two Sicilies. We need not tell how tragically this German dynasty was extinguished, how Charles of Anjou was called in, and how Sicily, after seventeen years' experience of French domination, successfully revolted against its oppressors at those famous vespers. Naples and Sicily were now two; but as re-

clear, both from the traditional interests and the present attitude of Austria, and from the declared intentions of England and France, that the serviceable kingdom of Sardinia will not suffer for the faults or misfortunes of its monarch. While we are writing, the destinies of Northern Italy await the *fiat* of the umpires. Three modes of organization have been suggested, each of which has its recommendations and its difficulties. It seems to have been concluded, even by Austria herself, that the detachment of Lombardy from the empire is a measure of expediency. The dismembered province may then be either annexed to Piedmont, or erected into an independent state, or made a kind of fief of the empire under a sovereign archduke. The first contingency alone would be likely to produce any effect upon the political system. It is true that the fortification and enlargement of the Sardinian kingdom would be nothing more than a continuation of that policy, which for more than a century and a half has been stamped with European approval; but it is doubtful whether the acquisition of Lombardy might not entail the surrender of Savoy and Nice, and still more doubtful whether, in such case, the loss would be compensated by the gain. At pres-

publics were less popular as forms of government in the days of Venice and Genoa, than they appear to be in these days of Buenos Ayres and Uruguay, the Sicilians carried their allegiance to Aragon, a state well fitted by its then maritime preponderance to accept the charge, and the reigning house of which had been connected by marriage with the extinct German line. Omitting the dynastic revolutions through which these now independent states respectively passed, we may observe, that Sicily, after having been transferred to a junior branch of the Aragonese house, reverted to the reigning branch, and at length, in the year 1412, Aragon and Sicily were formally united in the crown worn by the Castilian prince who had been chosen to fill the throne of Aragon. The son of this monarch succeeded also in securing for himself the contested inheritance of Joanna of Bourbon, the childless Queen of Naples. Thus, about the middle of the 15th century, Naples and Sicily became once more a united kingdom. But they did not long remain in the possession of the reigning line of Aragon; since the possessor, thinking that he had full powers of disposal over these acquisitions of his individual adroitness, bequeathed the "Two Sicilies," as they were now termed, to an illegitimate son, in whose family they remained until the famous partition which concluded the wars of Charles VIII., and which was so speedily superseded by the absorption of the whole inheritance in the patrimony of Spain.

The next appearance of either Sicily on the European field is at the treaty of Utrecht, when the title now hoped to be revived was created anew, after more than 200 years' abeyance, in favor of that very house to which it has just been offered. The island of Sicily was adjudged to the Charles Albert of his day, Victor Amadeus II., together with the royal title which he so anxiously desired. The ground taken by the allies, however, was found untenable; and, after a five years' possession of the island, Victor was induced reluctantly to exchange his new realm and title for that of Sardinia, Sicily being allotted on this occasion to the house of Austria. At length the squabbles for this portion of the great Spanish inheritance were finally arranged at the peace of Vienna in 1735; and the kingdom of the "Two Sicilies," like their fabled Arethusa, emerged again into light and being, as an independent settlement for the Infante Don Carlos of the new Bourbon dynasty of Spain. In this family, with the interruption only to which Napoleon subjected all continental history, the crown has remained to the present day, when Ferdinand II. seems once more likely to behold a division of the inheritance, and to be running the risk of losing half his title as well as half his kingdom.

ent Lombardy and Piedmont are actuated by a bitter, though perhaps appeasable, enmity towards each other; and the union of these discordant and disorganized provinces might prove a poor substitute for that compact and critically placed state from which such important duties are now expected. But with the exception of these considerations, and the due preservation of Austrian power at the head of the Adriatic, the distribution of the Italian territory derives all the interest attached to it, from other circumstances than its influence upon European politics. The district between the Tessino and the Mincio is insignificant in a military point of view; and presuming no foreign power to be introduced, the purposes both of Austria and of Europe would be answered by the adoption of the latter river for the imperial frontier. As to the duchies of the Genoese Gulf, or the states of the Peninsula, though our interest in their future fortunes is undiminished, they can only enter into such considerations as we have been suggesting, upon suppositions which are now hardly probable. The consolidation of Italy entire, either as a kingdom or a confederation under an efficient central power, would indeed introduce a new element into the system; and this, as with the democratic party in Switzerland, was the consummation to which the views of the most advanced Italian liberalism have been conceived to tend. But whatever lesson the late revolutions in the Peninsula may have taught us, they have at least released us from all obligation of immediately discussing such a contingency as this. Italy, as a whole, has certainly not approved itself ripe for union—any more than we imagine Germany to be. In the mean time, excepting in so far as the constitutions of its states may expose them to the influence of greater powers, it matters not much, for our immediate point of view, on what particular scale it may be re-partitioned between its prescriptive shareholders.

A few words will suffice for the yet unnoticed states of Europe. The growth of Prussia into a power of the first magnitude, appears among its other effects to preclude the likelihood of any reappearance of the Scandinavian powers, under ordinary circumstances, upon the fields of the continent. That they retain strength and spirit enough to defend their own rights, they have satisfactorily proved under trying circumstances; and any contest between them and their neighbors on the main-land has now become, as a royal speaker phrased it, "a fight between a dog and a fish." Though one of them is under a government as absolute as any in Europe, they have altogether escaped the revolutionary epidemic of the season, and have exhibited a feeling of nationality so practical, a union of interests so cordial, and an attachment to their institutions so resolute and sincere, as to attract the admiration even of those who thought their cause the weaker. Very different must be the comments upon the other extremity of the continent. The Spanish peninsula, like the Swedish and Danish, stands also

unmoved by the European shock, but simply because it has already gone through its constitutional revolutions; and if the only result of this year's convulsions is to be such as is there exhibited, we might almost turn, in the impatience of despair, to the policy of Verona. There is reason to believe that both in Spain and Portugal the Realistas, that is to say, the partisans of the *régime* superseded by the constitutional dynasties, comprise the majority of the population; and that it is but a comparatively small minority, which again is subdivided into those more prominent parties of Moderados and Progressistas—Chartistas and Septembristas—who have monopolized the attention of Europe. The Moderados are for the most part adventurers of good family; who are nothing without the court, but can govern the country with it. The Progressistas are the middle classes in the great towns. It is not that there linger in the breast of the majority any deep-rooted feelings of traditionary loyalty or of personal attachment, but that people would be willing to return to what they remember, in order to escape from what they experience. Perhaps at a future period some incredulity may be excited by such a picture as might now be drawn of the inheritance of Charles V. With scarcely the political importance of Tuscany, and none of the geographical significance of Savoy, Spain might almost be absorbed in the opposite continent of Africa, and leave Europe to terminate at the Pyrenees, without affecting the system of states. A rupture with the free city of Hamburg would create more inconvenience than arises from our present rupture with the cabinet of Madrid.* Treated as a mere

* Perhaps, however, the curiosity of the reader may compensate for the insignificance of the subject, and render of some interest the details which unexpected disclosures have now so well elucidated. The conferences between England and France on the subject of the Spanish match resulted, as will be recollected, in a stipulation that the Queen of Spain should not wed a French prince, and that a French prince should not espouse the Infanta Maria Louise till issue had been had of the marriage of the queen. As the fundamental condition, however, presumed that "none but a Bourbon should fill the throne of Philip V.," the choice of a husband for the queen was limited to the present king, his brother, and the Count Trapani. The latter, it seems, was the intended spouse at this stage of the proceedings; and such an arrangement would have made everything smooth; but the national dislike to this Neapolitan Bourbon was so strong, as to be insuperable. There was then Francisco d'Assis; but with his family Queen Christina was on such bad terms, as to render it absolutely indispensable, for the preservation of her own interests, that she should either try to exclude him from the throne, or counterbalance his influence by some rival power. The first of these alternatives suggested the Coburg alliance, which was proposed by Christina herself; and when that was negatived, it was she who insisted on the simultaneous marriages, from an apprehension of what might result in the interval, if her personal foes exercised the power of royalty, while she was left without any *appui* whatever. By holding out a Coburg before King Louis Philippe, with all the desperate resolution of a woman fairly alarmed, she at length frightened the French monarch into his ill-fated consent to the double match, and thus fortified herself with the Montpensier alliance against the influence of Don Francisco's family. These marriages had been supported by the whole of one party in Spain and opposed by another. Accordingly France and England had both their Spanish party, whether they would or no. In this state the French revolution found matters

toy for diplomatists, stripped of almost every vestige of external power, bankrupt in honesty, and below even its own emancipated colonies in European credit, Spain can only attract notice from the suggestions of the past, or the possibilities of the future. It should be remembered, however, that no country has ever shown such extraordinary capacity for a sudden resurrection. Three years of Alberoni's ministry restored Spain from a condition as degrading as the present, (excepting the stigma of a repudiated debt,) to a state not inconsistent even with her ancient grandeur; and though, in the rapid succession of edifying characters which marks the phantasmagoria of Peninsular cabinets, no figure has appeared with the outline or semblance of an Alberoni, yet it is impossible to discard consideration of a country which needs nothing but such an acquisition to raise it to a level with the greatest powers of the west. Rich in national character, as in natural resources, productive beyond even the blighting influence of misgovernment, and standing now alone among her neighbors in the blessing of a surplus revenue, it seems as if Spain might any day again take rank in the European commonwealth. At the same time, to those who have considered carefully the whole circumstances of her sudden rise and her headlong fall, it may perhaps appear doubtful, after all, whether the state in which she was found by Olivarez was not as naturally incidental to her constitution, as that in which she was left by Ximenes; whether her elevation is not a more curious problem than her decline; and whether the geographical isolation of her position does not require to be compensated by fortuitous and irregular advantages, before she can exert upon the general system an influence proportioned to her dominion.

We have reserved for the conclusion of our remarks, the consideration, or, as the narrowness of our limits will rather render it, the proposition of a question, which far exceeds in its possible importance that of all the realities or contingencies we have hitherto numerated. The revolutions of 1848, which succeeded that of France, may, perhaps, be generally characterized as a violent reaction against that *status quo* of political principles, of which we have traced the construction at Carlsbad and Laybach, and which it has since seemed almost the exclusive function of the three northern powers to preserve and maintain. We in Madrid. Both parties now became more anxious for our alliance; Christina and the Moderados to supply what they had lost in France; the Progressistas to make clean work of their adversaries at so favorable an opportunity. Neither coalition, however, on such terms, was consistent with the proper policy of this country. An alliance with the Moderados would have lost us forever the respect of every other party, and at once have converted the Progressistas into red republicans. We therefore determined on neutrality, resolving to maintain friendly relations with the Progressistas, lest they might otherwise take refuge in republicanism—on the other hand, to avoid all violent quarrel with the Moderados, because they were in office. But as this, in the eyes of the ascendant faction, was tantamount to opposition, they thought it desirable to drive away our minister and remove us from the field altogether. *Viola tout!*

do not, of course, mean to say that each particular insurrection was the explosion of feelings long cherished, the burst of repugnance long suppressed, or the prompt seizure of an expected opportunity to effect a deliberate and preconceived reform. On the contrary, every hour brings us additional reason for concluding that contagion was the principal agent in the several catastrophes; that the outbreak, or, at least, all its unconstitutional violence, was in almost every instance the work of a small, misguided and inconsiderate minority; and that however general might have been the desire for constitutional governments, there was no wish for a suspension of all government whatever in favor of those provisional substitutes which have now so strangely assumed the prerogatives of power. Still, the revolutionary shock could never have been thus transmitted from Paris to Vienna, if the states of central Europe had not been fitted, by some such reactionary spirit, for receiving and conducting it. But, besides these ordinary and anticipated consequences of a French revolution, the present occasion appears, among its other results, to have given an impulse of development to a particular sentiment of nationality, hitherto unformed or dormant.

Even in this country, so conspicuously behind the continent in its speculations upon European combinations or destinies,* convictions have been expressed, that in the possible fortunes of the Slavonic race, was comprised the only element by which the course of modern history was likely to be seriously affected. This potent element has been sensibly quickened by the events of last February. Most readers will be familiar with the general theory of Pan-Slavism, or, in other words, with the idea, as recently elaborated by the writers of eastern Europe, of uniting all Slavonic populations into one enormous empire; which would thus almost necessarily become the master power of this quarter of the globe. A full development of Pan-Slavism would of course presume the supremacy of Russia; for since the inhabitants of this empire comprise fifty-three out of the seventy-eight millions numbered by the Slavonic race, it would be impossible to consummate the projected union, without both including the population of Russia, and acknowledging her natural presidency. But a modification of the theory has been suggested, by which the idea itself is pressed into service against Russian ambition; and indeed is represented as the only plausible expedient for checking the fated

advance of that eastern empire. It is proposed that Austria, which reckons in its population returns some seventeen millions of Slavonians against six millions and a half of Germans, should give to this preponderating element its due supremacy; should, in short, declare itself a Slavonic state; and should thus recognize the tottering fabric of its empire upon a new and enduring basis.

We are only concerned with these and the like theories, as far as they have been invested with an actual influence upon the state of Europe under the recent movements; and in no inconsiderable extent is this the case with the Austrian Empire. No sooner had the "constitution" of the 25th of April been promulgated, than all the nationalities between the Sävve and Dniester were in full ebullition. The inhabitants of Bohemia, being two thirds Slavonians, refused, as will be remembered, to compromise their nationality by sending members to the German Constituent Assembly; and by way of counteracting the Germanizing tendency of the new movement, they summoned a Slavonic congress at Prague, from Croatia, Illyria, Galicia, and Moravia. We need not refer to the curious coquetry of the Austrian court with this rudimentary confederation; nor to the tragedy which cut short the proceedings in the Bohemian capital, as our purpose is sufficiently answered by pointing out the actual effects of the movement upon the imperial dominion. The distinct nationality of Hungary, it will be recollected, was so far recognized, that it was actually admitted to treat upon independent terms with the central government of that new confederacy or empire of which German Austria formed a part; and it has even been suggested in our diplomatic circles, that a representative of British interests should be despatched to Pesth, so that Hungary would gain a distinction of which Austria and Prussia were soon to be deprived. But this was not all. The imperial sanction was obtained for the incorporation with the kingdom of Hungary of those provinces which lie between its proper border and the Ottoman territories, viz., Croatia and the military colonies of the frontier. Now it happens that in the populations which compose the Hungarian state, and which it was thus proposed to amalgamate so completely, there subsist the same varieties and jealousies of race as in the Austrian Empire itself—some three millions of Magyars being all that can be shown against six millions of Slavonians. The consequence has been the repetition, upon a small scale, of the troubles and distractions of the imperial state in one of its provinces; and the Croatians and Borderers have exhibited just the same repugnance to the centralizing government of the Magyars, as did the Bohemians and Moravians to the Germanizing authorities of Frankfort. They have even gone further; for Baron Jellachich, the Ban of Croatia, has openly levied war against the hitherto dominant race of Hungary; has defeated the Magyars, it is said, in several engagements; and is leading his triumphant Slavonians to the gates of Pesth. Very little reflection will be sufficient to show how

* A curious illustration of the aptitude displayed by our neighbors for these inquiries, is to be found in a resolution passed by the committee of foreign affairs in the National Assembly almost as soon as it was constituted. Representatives were nominated to prepare reports on the principal European questions as coolly as committees would be appointed in our own House of Commons to scrutinize a railway extension bill; *e. g.*—M. Drouit de Lhuys was to treat the Spanish question; M. d'Aragon, the affairs of Italy; M. Xavier Durrien those of Russia; M. Edmond Lafayette, Moldavia and Wallachia; M. Jober, Austria and the Slave countries; M. Payer, the German Confederation; M. de Voisin, the East; M. Heckeren, Prussia and Prussian Poland; and M. Puysegur, Egypt.

such a movement as this may soon transcend in the consequences it will carry with it the more exciting conflicts on the Mincio and the Eyder. Even in the Parliament or Assembly of Vienna, the Slavonian deputies have already a clear majority; and at times it has seemed as if the assumption of this Slavonic form was really the only alternative remaining to the rulers of the Austrian Empire.

But, connected with this contingency, comes the inevitable annexation or reconstitution of Poland. The ancient provinces of this kingdom are the very focus of Slavonic nationality; and the first step of Slavonized Austria must necessarily be the recognition of their suspended rights. Three suppositions have been contemplated:—the union of all the Polish provinces in a federal Slavonic state under the rule of Austria; their incorporation, on similar conditions, with the dominions of Russia; or their erection into a state absolutely independent. But in either case the ultimate consummation of Pan Slavism would appear unavoidable; for the intimate alliance of restored Poland either with Russia or New Austria, is almost a thing of course; and is it then probable, that with such sublimated ideas of race, these two sections of a great nationality will conceive their missions fulfilled, by simply balancing each other? At this moment the liberalization, if we may use such a term, of Prussia and Austria is presumed to have disengaged, to a great extent, the respective Polish populations of each power; and to have precluded the possibility of their retention any longer in severance or subjection. The Poles consider that they must now be necessarily competed for by Russia and Austria, and that the destinies of Europe depend upon the decision. Suggestions towards a cordial union with Russia, upon the one overpowering principle of race, have been thrown out for some years past; and, indeed, it is even more with respect to this question, that the present reports from the Danubian principalities assume their undoubted importance, than with regard to the relations between Russia and the Porte, or the great and terrible question of the East.

The provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, to which the trans-Danubian possessions of the Turks are now limited, were among the territories wrested by Solymán the Magnificent from the kingdom of Hungary, at the time when the stream of Turkish conquest was diverted, under the direction of this great sultan, to the borders of the Danube from the banks of the Tigris and the Nile. Reduced no less by the grinding despotism of the Porte than by the pestilential influence of the climate, to almost perfect desolation, they serve by this very character of misery to strengthen the barrier between Turkey and her foe. The natural line of defence for the Ottoman Empire being the Danube, these unhealthy wastes have to be traversed by any invaders from the north-east before the real defences of the country can be arrived at; and so thoroughly have they answered their purpose, that Russian armies usually appeared before those fatal fortresses between Widdin and Ismail,

shorn of one half their strength, which had been left behind in the Moldavian swamps. Considerations of this kind quickened the national propensity of Russia to push her frontier to the Danube; and with such success were her efforts exerted, that the transfluvian provinces in question are now almost as much Russian as Turkish. By the treaty of Jassy, which concluded the bloody campaigns of Suwarrow upon the Danube, Russia obtained such a recognition of her influence beyond her own proper frontier, as to stipulate that the hospodars or governors of Wallachia and Moldavia should neither be appointed nor removed without consent from St. Petersburg first obtained. A disregard of this stipulation was the pretext for the war of 1810; and the right of interference was so far confirmed and extended by the treaty of Adrianople in 1829, that these Danubian principalities may be now represented as depending rather on the protectorate of Russia than on the sovereignty of the Porte. It was among the conditions exacted by Russia, that no Turks should reside in these provinces; so that her influence over a pure Romanic population (the Wallachians being the descendants of the colonists of the old Roman empire) should be preserved entire. When, accordingly, the shock of domestic revolution, reaching even to Jassy and Bucharest, caused the overthrow of the hospodar and the proclamation of a provisional government, Russia exerted her privilege by marching troops across the Pruth to rectify the disorder. This, however, as we have said, is not all. By the position thus occupied she has been enabled to aid the insurgent Slavonians of Southern Hungary, with succors sent up the Danube; and it is reported that she is actively availing herself of these facilities for pushing her Slavonic interests; and that her ostensible proceedings in the principalities do but cover the ramifications of a deeper scheme.

No reader will be surprised if, within such limits as were at our command, we have failed in giving a satisfactory account of any particular European state. We have selected for illustration those which by reason of their constitution or position appeared eminently to call for notice; but it should not be forgotten, in estimating our conclusions, that we have anticipated the usual season of comment, and have offered these remarks during a period of transition, when almost every day was producing some material change in the aspect of the affairs under consideration. Perhaps, however, the very character which our observations must needs derive from such a circumstance, may lend them some additional interest hereafter, as it may be instructive to refer, when the end shall have at length arrived, to these records of a state of actual progress. In any case, we hope that we may have facilitated the comprehension of the events now daily announced from all quarters of Europe, and have enabled the reader to appreciate, with greater satisfaction to himself, the incidents of the drama still in progress. Were it a less agreeable subject to dwell upon, we should hardly think it

necessary to explain the absence of a mighty figure from our extempore panorama. We have said nothing of Great Britain, for the best of all reasons; nor shall we recur to any of those proverbial illustrations of the conspicuousness which follows upon certain conditions of retirement. Our readers will gratefully recognize the blessings which enable all mention of this country to be dispensed with, in an estimate of revolutions and their results.

If, now, we take a retrospective glance at the scenes which have passed in review before us, we shall be probably inclined to conclude that the disturbance likely to be suffered by the political system is smaller than could have been conceived by the most sanguine anticipations some six months ago. It does not appear that any power will acquire undue preponderance or aggrandizement, or that any strange member will be introduced into the system, excepting on conditions hardly yet probable—the development, namely, of the newborn spirit of “nationality” into some practical and effective agency. If Germany should really become a consolidated state, animated by a single will, such a power would doubtless excite suspicions, and provoke combinations hitherto untried; though, as we have already stated, there is no great reason for supposing that its influence could be detrimentally exerted. As much, it is true, cannot be asserted of a great Slavonic state; but this contingency is much further from its realization than a Germanic empire, and would be attended with obstacles infinitely more serious than those which, even in the latter case, have not yet been proved surmountable. Excepting, however, by the instrumentality of this new element of “race,” there does not appear much likelihood of the growth of any power into proportions inconsistent with the stability of the system. As little is it probable that any minor power will be demolished or absorbed. The Eastern question has not been perceptibly brought nearer its solution by the recent shock; and, as to the kingdom of Denmark, that, it would seem, may be safely left to the right arm of the Danes. If any new creations appear to be in embryo, they are not of a character to justify much beyond a passing interest. The kingdom, or duchy, or principality of Lombardy, will import little to the system of Europe, and a place might be found even for independent Sicily without any serious disarrangement.

Beyond doubt the inconveniences arising from the internal disorganization of states wear an unpleasant and menacing aspect; but the practical propagandism of February was cut very short in its career, and no power can be now said to give its neighbors any such apprehensions as those excited by Jacobinical France, or anarchical Poland. Neither, amidst all the medley of constitutional novelties, does it appear that the domestic organization of any people will become fundamentally inconsistent with the character of the European fabric, or that any dangerous discord will be introduced through the adoption of a policy or administration irreconcilable with those generally received by other

governments. Still it cannot be denied that there are states which have been so rudely shaken as to be quite incapacitated for the discharge of what have hitherto been their accepted functions, and which are so altered in external circumstances, as hardly to be recognized for their former selves. But, on this point, it may be observed, that certain of those functions were such, perhaps, as to render their perpetuation by no means unconditionally desirable; not to mention that it is as yet uncertain what form or capacity they may hereafter assume. Viewed with reference to its bearings upon social and political progress, the system of Europe has been no doubt radically changed by the events which have occurred; but we are by no means prepared to allege that such change is essentially and altogether prophetic of evil.

The most satisfactory feature of the whole panorama is, perhaps, that a degree of vigorous force and virtue has been demonstrated to exist at present in the political system, which, considered in its most significant light, approaches to a guarantee of the public peace. Nothing can be more gratifying than the contrast, in this respect, of the Europe of 1848 with the Europe of 1793. Whether the political system, at the earlier period, had actually, as French writers assert, become effete and useless from age and violence before the summoning of the states general, or whether, as the publicists of other nations allege, it was overthrown, while in serviceable action, by the rude shock of French aggression, it is at least certain, that when the day of trial came, it was found wanting, and that war broke out almost as abruptly as if no international ties had ever existed. At the present crisis, general war has hitherto been happily averted; and this, throughout a succession of chances unusually critical and perilous. Sixty years ago Europe would have been infallibly plunged into flames from the Arctic Ocean to the Mediterranean, under one tenth of the temptations which sovereigns and people have now resisted. Arbitration supersedes war, if it does not prevent it; and such a community of accord and tractability of disposition have been observable among governments of all descriptions, as appears to promise well for future tranquillity. Most sincerely is it to be hoped that the worst may now be really past—that the political system of the civilized part of the world may survive undamaged in its usefulness and power—and that the state of Europe may experience no more disturbances than such as have here been chronicled.

From Chambers' Journal.

BLOWING PAST.

It might almost be supposed, from the conduct of mankind, that the experience of the evanescence of worldly things had been lost on them. They did not keep in mind sufficiently how things blow past. There is at all times felt among large sections of the race the impression of some great event, or series of events, happening, or about to happen, by which they believe their destinies are

to be eternally affected, or from which they apprehend the most serious and immediate dangers, but which, at the end of six months, are no more heard of, the simple fact being that the whole thing has blown past. I do not know how many wars we have been about to have with one state or another, chiefly with America and France, within the last ten years, not one of which has taken place. There was the Macleod war, (probably the very name is already forgotten,) and the boundary war, and the Prince de Joinville war, and the war about the Spanish marriages, all of which made a most alarming appearance in the newspapers, particularly those which occurred during the prorogations of parliament, and were, for their time, things that affected the spirits of men and the prices of stocks, but yet passed away into the region of forgetfulness without one particle of gunpowder being exploded on either side. People appear to be under a similar delusion regarding the importance of the time at the moment passing over their head. Almost every year that I can recollect has been regarded as constituting the most important era that ever was known, no one ever remembering that what is thought of the present was thought of the last, or reflecting that the same thing will be thought of the next, whatever may be the comparative character of its events. One might acquire some general sense of these absurdities by a retrospective glance over the reading articles of any leading newspaper. He would there see how often we have been under the most intense pressure from events, and crises, and conjunctures of policy in matters foreign and domestic, for a fortnight or three weeks at a time, but no more. At one time an alarm about the want of defences for our island; at another the Irish rebellion; at another the Chartists. Nothing ever comes of it. It blows past.

It seems a pity that the public should be continually under an agitation of anxiety, or something worse, on account of such things. We are anxious to do what in us lies to place them above such temporary impressions. We shall take, for instance, the present European crisis, which every one says has been totally unprecedented. Well, it is a strange year for revolutions. But what of that? Thousands of events similar to those which are calling forth our wonder have happened before, though not so many about the same time; and what is the result? They have all blown past. Each, in its week, or its month, or its six months, has gone into oblivion, (the "Annual Register,") leaving scarcely any indication of its having ever passed at all. That which has been will be again. All of these troubles will float away like so many bubbles down the stream of time, succeeded by similar bubbles, but passing into nothing themselves. Will it not, then, have been a distressing consideration that so much uneasiness has been felt, and so many losses incurred in stocks, without any just occasion? Think of this, my friends, and read of matutinal revolutions in the "Times"

with patient and simply contemplative minds. Besides, I have some doubts about the very events about which all this pother is made. It is not sufficiently kept in mind that history is a muse which wears pockets, and must eat and drink. She scatters her priests over the earth, on the pretence that they may be present at the very making of the events, and send them hot and hot to her various temples in Fleet street and the Strand. But, these gentlemen having so obvious an interest in the intensity of events, can anything be more likely than that they give them a certain depth of coloring which does not belong to them; perhaps here and there help out halting effects, or possibly (God forgive them!) make the whole story out of next to nothing? To be quite candid, I am sceptical respecting most of the alleged events of this wonderful year, for having lately passed through Europe almost from one side to the other, I found nothing changed or deranged, not one dish less at the table-d'hôtes, the same civility everywhere, no troubles or vexations beyond those usually arising from passports and custom-houses; and on conversing with a lady from Dublin about the state of things in that capital, I was assured there had not been so gay a season for a long time. I am not very sure that I was not in one Rhenish town at the very time when a revolution, or demonstration, or something of that kind, took place, and I knew nothing of it till a fortnight after, when I chanced to catch it up in a stray copy of "Galignani." Against the journals on such points I pitch the hotels. They never admit that anything extraordinary has happened in their neighborhood, but laugh at all those newspaper stories as, at the best, frightful exaggerations. Not a landlord did I meet with over the continent who did not deplore the absurd terror of the English for the so-called events, by which they had been deprived of the enjoyment of one of the finest summers for travelling and for continental residence which had been known for a long time. Now the hotels are surely as likely to know what is passing before their eyes as the correspondents of the various newspapers; and when I find one of these establishments conducting itself with unaffected serenity during the whole time that the city in which it is placed is said to be in a paroxysm of political agitation, or in the hands of a mob or a national guard, I must confess that I feel inclined to believe the hotel, and to doubt the historian. But let any one go to the continent and judge for himself, and I feel assured that he will see this five thousandth *annus mirabilis* in a very different light from that of Fleet street. Everywhere the common affairs of life seem to be going on as usual—people in their shops—people lounging in the streets and other public places, nursery-maids walking out with their infant charges, the cafés and theatres very brilliant and attractive as usual in the evenings, mass going on in the mornings in the old cathedrals, ladies and gentlemen travelling in all the various ways, and all the ordinary husbandry of

the season going on in the country. It is impossible, in such circumstances, to believe that any great change has taken place. There may be a few new colors in the national flag, or a few foolish men sitting somewhere under a belief that they are regenerating their country; but that is all, and even that must soon, if the laws of nature remain as they have been, blow past.

It is of course only too true that circumstances occur occasionally of no such transitory nature. There are things which we cannot and should not suffer to blow past; but what I allude to is the state of chronic exaggeration in which we habitually remain, and which at this moment, notwithstanding the late deplorable events, contrast, almost in a ludicrous manner with the social repose of the people. This affords a lesson.

But is not this a lesson which might well be extended even to the simplest matters? We often feel ourselves in circumstances which appear as if they would overwhelm us. After all, they blow past. They have done so; they do so every day; when they next recur, let us remember that still they must blow past. And not only this, but we may see how useful a thing it is to learn to let them blow past. Let us take all worldly things easily; let us give them an easy passage into the nothingness towards which they all hasten. There—fret your little hour—appealing from the present to the next moment, I care not, for then you must have blown past!

From the Scientific American.

CRAPE SHAWLS.

THERE are many who may not know how the Canton crape is made, and a short sketch will not be out of place. When the crape shawl comes from the weaver's loom, it is perfectly smooth and resembles gum silk cloth. But the threads of which this cloth is formed are made with one thread harder than the other, and for deeper craping the warp is harder twisted than the weft. The difference of twist in the warp and weft as the crapes are twilled, forms all the crimping of the crape, but not until it undergoes the process of boiling. This is done by boiling the shawls in fine white soap for a considerable time, which removes the gum from the silk, and by the warp swelling more than the weft, the shawls come out of the boiler with that fine crisp so much admired. All this crisp can be shaken out again by stretching the shawls on stenters—hence in the dressing operation care must be exercised not to stretch them too much.

The embroidery of these shawls is performed after the gum is removed. For this purpose the pattern is printed on the shawls with fugitive blue, and the flowers are then wrought with the needle. After this the shawls are sent to the dyer's to be dyed and dressed. Sometimes they are embroidered before the gum is boiled off, but this is not a good method, as silk is deteriorated in lustre by boiling in soap any longer than merely

to remove the gum; and to embroider with spun silk on the gummed fabric, would require the embroidery silk to receive too much boiling, and thus dim its lustre.

The use of soap to remove the gum of raw silk cannot be recommended, but it is the best and the cheapest with which we are acquainted. Many of our fair ones will no doubt be surprised to be told that their crape shawls have been boiled for two or three hours in soap. Many suppose that boiling in soap would utterly destroy any silk fabric. This in a measure is true; the operation is a nice one—but there is not a silk dress worn in our city, that has not in the yarn been boiled in soap.

The reason why the Chinese finished silks have a finer lustre than the English and French, is owing to the gum being removed by a tedious and expensive process of steeping the silks in a cold spirituous liquor. In the raw state, before the gum is removed, the crape is of a dirty yellow color, but the boiling in soap removes the yellow gum and the whitish silk appears. But still it is not yet white. It has to be dyed for this purpose. Some may think this strange, but it is a practical fact. It takes red, blue and yellow rays of light to form a white ray—a triunity, like the great Author who created what Milton terms

——— Holy light,
Offspring of Heaven's first dawn.

The dyer, to make his crape shawls white, uses in clean soap for that purpose a little archil and fine indigo strained through a cloth. These colors, mingling with the yellow of the shawl, form a white, which is further cleared up by the shawl's being washed out of the soap in cold water, and afterwards submitted to the fumes of sulphur in a close room.

Crape veils are very expensive, and containing, as they do, so little silk, this seems unreasonable—but the fine crape manufacture is in the hands of a few foreign houses, and the art of dressing the crape is both a tedious and a troublesome process.

In the last volume of the Scientific American a patent process for dressing fine crape shawls was described. It was to use a small quantity of dissolved gum copal and borax, along with liquid glue to stiffen the crape. This composition, if rightly made and applied, we have reason to know, is good, and is worthy the attention of those in this and other cities of our country whose business it is to redress damaged crape.

HOLMES' POEMS have been published in a second edition, somewhat enlarged, by Wm. D. Ticknor & Co., of Boston. Holmes' poetry possess a sparkling facility which to us is very attractive. Some things which he has written are full of spirit, and stir one's blood like the sound of a trumpet; but he delights mostly in the sportive mood. Of this class are most of the poems which he has added in this edition to the former collection.—*New York Evening Post.*

From Sharpe's Magazine.

QUEBEC.

It is the proud privilege of the Englishman alone, to whatever part of the globe he may wander, to find traces of the almost omnipresent energy of his country, and none can tell, but he who has experienced it, the feeling with which he hears the thrilling swell of the national anthem, or beholds the time-honored standard of his native land—

The flag that's braved a thousand years
The battle and the breeze,

proudly waving on the crested battlements or floating bulwarks of a chain of colonial dependencies, which stretches "from Indus to the Pole." Of these Canada is undoubtedly among the most important, and the key of Canada is Quebec. This city, magnificent in position as it is heroic in associations, was founded by the first French settlers in the fifteenth century. The river that bathes its walls—the mighty St. Lawrence—is the outlet of a chain of fresh-water lakes, whose extent imagination almost labors to grasp—the inland seas of a vast continent rapidly passing from the wildness of primeval nature into the cultured dwelling-place of civilized millions of British blood and British hearts. That stream which expands before us from the crested heights of Quebec has been churned into foam over the rocks of Niagara, and threaded its mazy course among the romantic intricacies of "the Thousand Isles." It has yet a course of some hundreds of miles to fulfil before it pours into the Atlantic its immense accumulation of waters.

The rock on which Quebec is built is provided, as it were, expressly by nature to guard and sentinel the passage of the river, and to command the surrounding territory, as from a throne. Viewed from below, nothing can be more striking than its black and perpendicular ridges, crested with frowning battlements and quaint foreign-looking steeples, unless, indeed, the view from the summit of the citadel, which is here presented to our readers. We stand on the utmost height of the ramparts—behind us expand the memorable Plains of Abraham, the "death-bed of fame" of the English and French commanders, Wolfe and Montcalm, reared to whose common memory a pyramidal monument appears conspicuous in the midst of the city. Before our eyes is seen, occupying the crest of the rock, the upper city of Quebec, with its walls and bastions, the residence of the governor, and another building, formerly a convent—together with the dwellings of the upper classes of society.

Crouching at the foot of these embattled bulwarks is a singular mass of antique constructions, resembling some dilapidated feudal town on the European continent, with pointed roofs and curious gables, and so completely French in style as to carry us at once from the remote banks of the St. Lawrence to those of the Loire or the Garonne. It consists of wharfs, warehouses, and a maze of dark and narrow streets, perilously overhung by the perpendicular rock of which an avalanche of mighty fragments has more than once fallen and crushed

all beneath into a heap of ruins. The whole of this part of the city has been gradually won, by piles and embankments, from the bed of the river, which formerly washed the base of the precipice. All sorts of craft are grouped about the bustling quays, from the hollow "dug out," or bark canoe of the Indian, and light market boats, conveying hay or provisions to vessels of large burden from Europe, and the noble ships of war which guard the passage, and which, huge as is their bulk, seem almost insignificant from the immensity of the stream on which they are anchored. In the midst of the river, in the distance, appears the Isle of Orleans, where Jacques Cartier, the first explorer of the St. Lawrence, and founder of Quebec, first anchored his roving bark. The main channel of the river appears between this and the village of Point Levi, on the right of the picture, while on the opposite shore is seen a long suburb of white cottages, leading to the Falls of Montmorenci. A range of dusky mountains encloses the whole scene as with a magnificent frame.

We cannot here attempt a minute description of the city, which is not of any great extent, exceedingly irregular, with steep and winding streets, break-neck flights of steps, and the most picturesque and fantastic variety of dwellings. Nothing here of the "Jack of the Beanstalk" towns of the United States, as Mrs. Trollope calls them, all bran new and shining, and looking as if built in a night, or chopped off per mile to order, with churches, hotels and museums ready made to hand. Quebec has a dingy, old-world look about it, particularly refreshing to the lover of the picturesque, as we come from the gay but formal cities of New York and Philadelphia. The population is equally curious and mixed; here are few or none of the spruce and "spry" American citizens, but a motley collection of Indians, now submissive to the faith whose first apostles they tortured and ate; half-breeds and voyageurs, who cut and conduct the rafts of timber from the distant recesses of the forests, in fantastic variety of costume; Canadian "habitans," descendants of the original French settlers, the very counterpart of the peasants of some remote corner of France, haters of innovation and invincible in their prejudice; while groups of hardy Scotch or squalid Irish emigrants linger about the quays, whose forlorn appearance might well excite our pity, did we not know that a few years will witness a change in their condition, from pauperism to competence, from the saddening consciousness that they are the miserable outcasts of an overburdened land, to the proud feeling that they are become the founders of future states. Among this mingling crowd are seen the more aristocratic inhabitants, traders or merchants, Catholic priests in long black robes, the noblesse of French origin, and especially the military, who move among the denizens of the land to which they are for a while exiled, with proud independence, like the Roman legionaries upon a distant and barbarous frontier.

But one should see Quebec in winter, fully to appreciate its picturesque peculiarities. From the

heights of the citadel, the eye then rests upon what seems one boundless lake of milk; all irregularities of ground, fences, boundaries, and copse-woods are obliterated; the tops of villages, with their Catholic steeples, from which the bell booms plaintive and solitary through the wintry air, and scattered farms, peep up like islets in an ocean, with here and there dark lines of pine forest, the mast of some ice-locked schooner, or the curling smoke of a solitary Indian wigwam. The town has its strange dark gables and pointed roofs all relieved with the lustrous white snow; its rugged streets are one day choked with heaped-up ice and drift, and, upon a slight thaw, flooded with dirty kennels and miniature cascades, which the next frost converts into a dangerous and slippery surface. Cloth or carpet boots, goloshes with spikes to their heels, iron-pointed walking sticks, are the only weapons defensive against broken limbs and necks. All the world are muffled in furs and skins; the Indian is seen with his singular snow-shoes, and the gay sledging party dash about to the merry music of the jingling bells upon their horses, over the glittering and frosty waste. That branch of the river to the north of the Isle of Orleans is always frozen over, and sometimes, but rarely, the main channel, when produce of all sorts is conveyed across the river to the city from the surrounding country, and groups of habitants and Indians are seen tracking their way across the far-stretching expanse of snow-covered ice. In general, however, the main channel remains open, and encumbered with vast masses of ice, and a strange sight it is to see the dexterous and fearless boatmen striving with iron-pointed poles to raise their vessels upon the surface of these floating icebergs, and thus descend the stream with them, till they find open water on which to launch their barks anew upon the troubled and perilous flood.

Quebec, as the bulwark of British America, is, as may be supposed, fortified with the greatest care. About forty acres of the level table-land which crowns the precipice are covered with works, carried to its edge and connected by massive walls and batteries with the other defences of the place. Both the upper town and the steep streets of the lower are abundantly defended, and the place may be pronounced almost impregnable. If it was gallantly won, it has been no less gallantly defended. We will leave to another occasion the comparatively well known circumstances of the triumph and death of General Wolfe, who at the price of his own life purchased Canada as a possession for his country. It was not long after Quebec had passed under the English rule, that the struggle for independence of the United States commenced. The spirit of the American people once fully aroused—

What heroes from the woodlands sprung,
When through the fresh awakened land
The thrilling cry of freedom rung,
And to the work of warfare strung
The yeoman's iron hand!

That raw militia, who had hitherto acted upon the defensive, soon became animated by so daring and

resolute a spirit that their commanders were encouraged to carry the war into the heart of the enemy's territory, and to assail him in his strongest defences.

Washington, in his camp at Boston, had projected an enterprise as startling by its novelty, as it was formidable by the obstacles and dangers of its execution. He believed a path to exist, which, though unfrequented and known but to mountaineers in the summer season, led from the upper parts of New Hampshire and Maine, across an almost impassable wilderness of marshes, forests and mountains, into Lower Canada, in the direction of Quebec. He judged that an attack upon that city from this point would produce the greatest effect—that it must prove wholly unexpected; for not only had an army never passed through these frightful solitudes, but no one had even imagined such a thing to be possible. Washington, moreover, knew that Quebec was in no degree prepared for defence. This plan perfectly coincided with that to be executed by the army under Montgomery, destined to penetrate into Upper Canada, by the lakes and the river Sorel. He well knew the insufficiency of the English governor's forces, who, obliged to divide them, could not hope to resist the simultaneous attack of two corps, one on the side of Montreal, the other on that of Quebec. If he persisted in defending the neighborhood of the former city, the second must fall into the power of the Americans; if, on the contrary, he turned to the assistance of Quebec, Montreal and its neighborhood could not hope to escape them.

The command of this adventurous enterprise was confided to Colonel Arnold, a man courageous even to rashness; of a mind fertile in expedients, and of immovable resolution. Ten companies of fusileers, three of riflemen, and one of artillery, under the command of Captain Lamb, were selected to accompany him. To these were added some volunteers, among whom was Colonel Burr, afterward vice-president of the United States. The total number of the corps amounted to 1,100 men.

The State of Maine is traversed by the Kennebec river, which rises in the mountains which separate Maine from Canada, and, running from north to south, falls into the sea a little above Casco-bay. On the opposite side of these mountains, and not far from the sources of the Kennebec, rises another river, called the Chaudière, which flows into the St. Lawrence, a little above Quebec. From one of these springheads to the other there was no way but across precipitous mountains, intersected with torrents and marshes, and not a living being was to be seen for the entire distance. Such was the wilderness through which Arnold had now to penetrate.

His preparations completed, and the troops displaying extreme ardor, he left the camp at Boston towards the middle of September, and on reaching the Kennebec found two hundred boats assembled at the town of Gardiner. Loading them with arms, ammunition and provisions, he ascended the river as far as Fort Webster, erected on its right bank.

Here he divided his corps into three detachments; the first composed of riflemen, commanded by Captain Morgan, forming the advanced guard, to explore the country, ascertain the fords, open the road, and especially reconnoitre the frequent "*portages*," spots so called, because the rivers there becoming unnavigable, it was necessary to carry by hand, or on beasts of burden, not only the cargo, but also the boats themselves, until the state of the river admitted of their being launched anew. Their progress was full of almost insuperable difficulties, the current being swift, the bed of the river rocky, and often interrupted by dangerous falls and rapids. To penetrate by land was even more difficult than by water; they had to make their way through dense tangled forests, climb rugged and overhanging precipices, and tread unknown and perilous morasses, and while opening a road through all the formidable obstacles of a wilderness in a state of nature, the soldiers, compelled to carry their own baggage, could of course advance but slowly, so that even before they reached the head waters of the Kennebec, their provisions began to fail. Many were already spent with fatigue and exhaustion, and when they had reached the source of the *Rivière Morte*, a branch of the Kennebec, Colonel Enoss was ordered to send back to the rear all the sick, and such as could not be supplied with provisions. This officer profited by the opportunity to return with his entire detachment to the camp at Boston. The whole army, on seeing him appear, gave way to the liveliest indignation against a man who had abandoned his companions in arms, in the midst of danger, and whose desertion might compromise the success of the whole enterprise. He was brought before a court martial, but acquitted from the acknowledged impossibility of procuring provisions for his men in those desolate and savage regions.

Arnold, undaunted, pursued his onward march; he had consumed thirty-two days in traversing a frightful solitude without meeting with a single habitation, a single human creature. Swamps, mountains, precipitous and pathless ravines, encountered him at every step, and seemed to forbid all expectation of success, or rather, all prospect of deliverance. Death was desired, rather than dreaded, by his forlorn followers, overwhelmed amidst these fearful wilds by every privation, and by every suffering. Their constancy was still proof; stern necessity maintained as yet their powers of endurance. Arrived at the summit of the mountains which divide the waters of the Kennebec from those of the Chaudière and St. Lawrence, the miserable remnant of their provisions was equally distributed among all the companies, and Arnold urged his soldiers to press forward in search of subsistence, since henceforth in doing so lay their sole resource from perishing. It was yet thirty miles to the nearest habitation when every sort of provision was exhausted; they were giving way to utter despair, when Arnold, whose activity was almost preternatural, suddenly appeared from

a forage, bringing with him wherewithal to satisfy the extremest cravings of nature. Recommencing their march, with inexpressible joy they reached at length the Chaudière river, and soon after, the nearest dwellings of the French Canadians, who embraced their cause, and offered them every assistance in their power. Arnold, impatient to snatch the fruit of so much toil and danger, would only halt as long as was necessary to give the rear guard time to come up and assemble the stragglers.

On the 9th November he reached Point Levi, opposite to Quebec. The amazement of the inhabitants of that city at such an apparition, can hardly be conceived—they could not comprehend how and by what road the Americans had reached them: the success of such an enterprise seemed to them little less than miraculous. Had Arnold, in this first moment of their panic, been able to cross the river, he must have made himself master of Quebec, but Colonel Maclean, the commandant, had received timely warning, through a fugitive Indian, of the approach of the Americans, and the English had, consequently, withdrawn all the boats from the right bank of the river. Moreover, it blew on that day so furiously that it was manifestly impossible to cross without peril. These circumstances were the salvation of the city. Arnold, foaming with impatience, was compelled to lose several days, and to make a nocturnal passage, the river being guarded by the *Lizard* frigate, and several other light vessels, anchored under the walls of the town. For several nights, successively, the wind was as high as during the day; but the Canadians having at length furnished Arnold with sufficient boats, he only awaited the favorable moment for attempting the passage.

The commandant at Quebec was aware how small were his means of defending the city; the spirit that prevailed there could not but alarm him, and the garrison was very weak, consisting only of the Royal Irishmen of Colonel Maclean, and some militia hastily called out by the vice-governor. The merchants and English inhabitants were extremely discontented at the recent introduction of French laws into the province. It appeared, moreover, that no reliance was to be placed in the fidelity of the French, of whom the greater part were wavering, and some even the declared enemies of British domination. The council of naval officers would not consent to land the sailors to serve on land, on account of the bitterness of the season and the difficulties of the navigation.

But as soon as they beheld the American colors boldly displayed on the other side of the river, citizens, soldiers and sailors, both English and French, animated by one common enthusiasm, united by the common danger, hastened in crowds to the defence of the city, and labored with the utmost ardor to complete the necessary defences before the enemy should be able to pass over and attack them. The militia were armed and stationed at their respective posts. The Irish displayed

great resolution, and some sailors were landed, who, accustomed to working guns, were charged with serving the artillery upon the ramparts. In this alarming crisis, Colonel Maclean neglected nothing that could inspire resolution in the spirits of the besieged, and aid in defending the city confided to his trust.

At length, the wind having moderated, Arnold, on the night of the 13th November, embarked all his forces, excepting 500 men whom he left behind to prepare some ladders, and in spite of the extreme rapidity of the current, and the precautions needful for avoiding the enemy's ships, he reached the opposite bank, a little above the spot where General Wolfe had disembarked in 1759, under auspices so favorable for his country and so fatal to himself. Not being able to ascend the banks of the river, which are here very precipitous, he descended towards Quebec, following the shore till he reached the foot of the wood-covered ascent which Wolfe had so much difficulty in surmounting. Followed by his intrepid companions he scaled the summit, and ranged his little band on the neighboring heights of the Plains of Abraham. He halted but for a moment, to give time to the troops he had left on the other side, to rejoin him, for he hoped to surprise the city by a *coup de main*. But the alarm had been given, and the besieged prepared, his scouts informing him that they encountered the advanced guard of the enemy, who had given information of his approach.

The impetuous Arnold would have ordered the attack at all hazards, but was dissuaded by his officers. The greatest part of the guns were unserviceable, and there remained but six rounds of ammunition apiece; lastly, there was not a single piece of artillery. But if he could no longer hope to surprise the city, he endeavored to induce it to surrender, by showing himself boldly in arms before the walls. He even sent, but in vain, to summon the commandant. But the device was fruitless; Colonel Maclean not only prevented the entry of the messengers, but fired upon the officer who escorted them. Arnold learned, at the same time, that the English had descended from Montreal, and were preparing for a *sortie*. Thus he found himself compelled to fall back, and encamp at Point aux Trembles, twenty miles above Quebec, to await the arrival of General Montgomery from Upper Canada. While on the way thither, the vessel was seen descending towards Quebec, with Governor Carleton on board, who, on his arrival, hastened to take every defensive measure, which time and circumstances permitted. Meanwhile, Montgomery advanced from Montreal upon Quebec by roads rendered almost impassable by the accumulating snows. His eloquence, his personal reputation, his virtues, and the example of resignation and magnanimity he showed to his troops, alone could have sustained their courage, and even inspired fresh ardor to follow in his footsteps. On the 1st of December he reached Point aux Trembles with a small detachment of barely 300 men, where Arnold received him with indescribable joy. After another

vain attempt to induce the governor to surrender, he erected a battery of six guns upon a foundation of snow and ice, but with little or no effect. They were now exposed to all the terrors of a Canadian winter. The air was darkened by continual snow storms, and the cold was so intense that human strength could no longer endure its rigor unsheltered. The sufferings of the Americans were indescribable, and, to render their position still more horrible, the small-pox broke out in the camp, growing demoralization spread itself among the ranks; constancy gives way to despair when there appears no term to suffering and no prospect of success, and Montgomery perceived, that unless he struck a sudden and decisive blow, he should be compelled to a disastrous retreat, and that his military renown must be eclipsed. In a position so critical and desperate, daring becomes prudence, and he resolved rather to die covered with glory, than submit without an effort to a disgrace which might have proved fatal to the success of the American cause.

Having determined to storm the city, Montgomery divided his army into four corps, two of which were to amuse the enemy by a feigned attack of the upper town, while the two others, commanded by Arnold and himself, were to assault the lower town at two different points. On the last day of the year 1775, between four and five, in the gloom and obscurity of a winter morning, the snow falling heavily, the four columns advanced noiselessly and in perfect order upon the points respectively assigned to them. It is said that Captain Frazer, of the Royal Irishmen, in going his rounds, caught sight of the fuses which the Americans fired as signals, and instantly beat to arms without waiting for further orders. Livingston and Brown, impeded by the snow and other obstacles, could not execute their feigned attack in time upon the upper town. But Montgomery, at the head of his column, composed almost entirely of New York troops, hastened along the road called *Anse de Mer*, beneath Cape Diamond. There, at a spot called the Potasse, was a barrier defended by some pieces of artillery, and two hundred paces in advance a redoubt had been constructed defended with a sufficient guard. These soldiers, almost all Canadians, fled as they saw the enemy approach, the battery was soon abandoned, and if the Americans could have advanced with sufficient rapidity they would certainly have taken it; but in turning the angle of Cape Diamond, they found the road was blocked up by an enormous accumulation of snow. This obstacle was fatal to their success. Montgomery, with his own hands, labored hard to open a narrow pathway for his men, who were able to follow him only one at a time, and thus he was obliged to wait for them, till having at length assembled about 200, he briskly advanced to the redoubt. But at that moment, an artilleryman, recovering from his first panic when he found the enemy had stopped, returned suddenly to his post, and seizing a match which was yet burning, fired a canon loaded with grape, into the midst of the Americans, who were

now forty paces distant. That single discharge overturned the whole enterprise. Montgomery, together with Captains Macpherson and Cheesman, both young officers of merit, and endeared to their general, were killed upon the spot. At the fall of their brave chief, the soldiers fell back, and thus that part of the garrison to which they were opposed, hastened to assist that which was attacked elsewhere.

For Arnold, meanwhile, at the head of the forlorn hope, had advanced to the spot called the *Saut au Matelot*, in the lower town, followed by a company of artillery and a single cannon, after which came the centre, preceded by Morgan's riflemen. The besieged had erected a battery at the entrance of a narrow passage, where the Americans were hemmed in and exposed to a sweeping discharge of grape. As Arnold advanced rapidly forward under the enemy's fire, he was severely wounded in the leg by a ball, and in spite of his resistance was carried back to the hospital. Morgan then took the command, and rushed impetuously upon the battery. The American riflemen, skilful marksmen, picked off the English soldiers by the embrasures, they applied scaling ladders, the besieged gave way and abandoned the battery. But Morgan's position was become exceedingly critical; the main body were not yet able to come up; he was compelled to halt with his men, and, in their ignorance of the fate of the other columns, the darkness, the furious storms of snow, the firing heard on all sides, and even behind them, produced a feeling of involuntary terror in the stoutest hearts. Morgan rushed hastily back to hasten the arrival of the rear, who now came up, and as the day was about to break, he renewed the attack. While advancing to a second battery, he encountered an English detachment, under Captain Anderson, who summoned him to surrender. Morgan, enraged, knocked him down with a blow of his gun; the English retreated and closed the barrier. Some of the boldest of the assailants, having placed their ladders against the parapet, prepared a second time to scale it, but recoiled at the sight of two lines of soldiers ready to receive them on their bayonets; and Morgan, seeing that the enterprise was hopeless, was compelled to beat a retreat. But it was now too late, the Americans, entangled in the town, and surrounded on all sides with an increasing multitude of enemies, after a brief resistance were compelled to lay down their arms; Arnold, however, eventually succeeded in retiring with a portion of the army.

Such was the issue of an attempt, the success of which, desperate as it may appear, was certainly not impossible. Had not Montgomery fallen on the outset, it is hardly to be doubted that he would have gained the barrier, and Arnold and

Morgan obtaining the same success, the lower town would have fallen into the hands of the Americans. Be this as it may, their heroic efforts must be the object of sincere admiration. General Carleton treated the prisoners with great humanity, and interred the American general with all the honors of war. The governor added greatly to his reputation for prudence and intrepidity, in having, in so difficult a position, known how to maintain order and union among hasty and undisciplined levies. And if such feeble means sufficed him to repulse the formidable attack of an enemy rendered more terrible by despair, he acquired no less honor by the generosity with which he made use of his victory.

The American Congress, desiring to honor the memory of one who was the object of the love and veneration of his country, decreed that a monument should be ordered at Paris, with an inscription suited to convey to posterity the memory of the virtue and the heroism of Richard Montgomery; and it is remarkable that the English showed no less enthusiasm in his favor than the Americans. A scene almost unprecedented took place in parliament, where orators arose, whose eloquence seemed to take delight in decreeing to him all the praises with which the historians of antiquity have honored their most illustrious contemporaries. Colonel Barré, in particular, most touchingly regretted the death of so noble an enemy; Burke and Fox, in their speeches, endeavored to surpass him in panegyric. They were strongly censured by the minister, Lord North. He admitted that Montgomery had displayed both skill, valor, and humanity, but was no less a rebel—and he cited the line of Addison:—

Curse on his virtues—they have undone his country.

But to this Fox as warmly replied, "that the great founders of liberty have in all ages been called rebels, and that the very constitution by virtue of which they were assembled owed its origin to a revolution."*

Such are the heroic memories which cluster round Quebec; English, French and Americans, have displayed around its walls the highest valor, have shed upon its soil the noblest blood, and repose together within the shelter of its walls. Each, moreover, displayed towards his rival in the field that generous sympathy which is the chivalry of war, and half redeems with its nobility of feeling, the darker features of a system destined, we devoutly trust, to expire at no distant period, when "nation shall not rise against nation, neither shall they learn the art of war any more."

*These historical particulars are compressed from Botta's History of the War of Independence.

From Hunt's Merchant's Magazine.

AMERICAN GENIUS IN ENGLAND—ITS TRIALS AND TRIUMPHS.

THOSE who have read the narrative of the sufferings of ragged and hungry genius, as told by the sufferers themselves, in Johnson's *Life of Savage*, and in Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*, will listen to the following letter, addressed to a distinguished gentleman in this country, a chapter of autobiography, with like interest; for, like those narratives, it not only describes the trials, but is written, also, with the energetic pen of genius.

The writer is Mr. J. R. Remington, a young man, a Virginian by birth. After residing for a while in Alabama, a few years since he went to Washington, and exhibited there the models and drawings of several ingenious and (as they have since proved) valuable mechanical inventions of his own. At Washington, he made little headway. One of his inventions was a bridge, constructed on a novel principle, or rather a principle newly applied, and by which bridges of timber of great length can be thrown across rivers and wide railroad cuts without intermediate support. People looked and admired; but somehow, although they saw much that was strikingly original, they could not see how the contrivances were to be made practically useful. Fulton's first steamboat drew crowds of such admirers round it when on the stocks.

Mr. Remington was not discouraged. We are sometimes apt to look upon the mechanical and mathematical turn of mind as naturally dry, crabbed, and cold. Yet there can be no doubt (and a multitude of brilliant examples of late years attest the fact) that the great mechanical inventor is borne up by as much of the "ardor of confident genius," the "evidence of things not seen," and feels as sensibly "the substance of things hoped for," as the great poet, or any of those whom we are more apt to class among geniuses of more exalted mood. The source of the mistake seems to be the very excess of imagination in him, and the lack of it in us; while we, having eyes, see not the end, but the means only, he is looking at the end; while we think of the dull machinery and the uncouth figures with which he works, his thoughts are running forwards, and soaring upwards, to results worked out, complete!

Mr. Remington went to England, arriving in London early in January, 1847. He went, to use his striking language, in "search of a man;" like the old philosopher, he sought but for one mind capable of sympathetic appreciation. He carried with him his plans, a teeming brain, a letter of introduction, and an empty purse.

The story of Mr. Remington's success has been told by the lips of others, as was most meet; we leave it to himself to describe his struggles and probation. His letter would be marred by any attempt on our part to add or amplify.

Stafford, Staffordshire, England, Aug. 15, 1849.

MY DEAR SIR:—I should have written sooner,

but that I had nothing pleasant to say. I reached London on the 1st of January, 1847, without money or friends, which was just the thing I desired when I left America, and just the thing, I assure you, I will never desire again. I commenced operations at once, on the supposition that, in this overgrown city, I would at least enlist one man. But Englishmen are not Americans. An Englishman will advance any amount on an absolute certainty, but not one penny where there is the slightest risk, if he get the whole world by it. I spent the first five months looking for this man with unparalleled perseverance and industry, living for less than three pence per day. I am convinced that few persons in London know so much of that incomprehensibly large city as myself. But, alas! my wardrobe was gone to supply me with wretchedly baked corn bread, on which I lived entirely. I slept on straw, for which I paid a halfpenny per night. I became ragged and filthy, and could no longer go among men of business. Up to this time my spirits never sunk, nor did they then; but my sufferings were great. My limbs distorted with rheumatism, induced by cold and exposure—my face and head swelled to a most unnatural size with cold and toothache, and those who slept in the same horrid den as myself were wretched street beggars, the very cleanest of them literally alive with all manner of creeping things. But I was no beggar. I never begged, nor ever asked a favor of any man since I came to England. Ask George Bancroft, whom I called upon two or three times, if I ever asked the slightest favor, or even presumed upon the letter you gave me to him. I did write him a note, asking him to come and witness the triumph of opening the bridge at the Gardens, and delivered the note at his own house myself; and although Prince Albert came, I never got even a reply to my note. If Bancroft had come, and been the man to have only recognized me in my rags as I was, it would have saved me much subsequent suffering. I will not believe that Bancroft ever saw the note, for his deportment to me was ever kind.

The succeeding three months after the first five I will not detail, up to the time I commenced to build the bridge. I will not harrow up my feelings to write, nor pain your kind heart to read, the incidents of those ninety days. My head turned grey, and I must have died but for the Jews, who did give me one shilling down for my acknowledgment for 10*l*. on demand. These wicked robberies have amounted to several hundred pounds, every penny of which I have had to pay subsequently; for, since my success at Stafford, not a man in England, who can read, but knows my address. It cost me 10*l*. to obtain the shilling with which I paid my admittance into the Royal Zoological Gardens, where I succeeded, after much mortification, in getting the ghost of a model made of the bridge. The model, although a bad one, astonished everybody. Every engineer of celebrity in London was called in to decide whether it was practicable to throw it across the lake. Four or five of them, at the final decision, declared that the model before them was passing strange, but that it could not be carried to a much greater length than the length of the model. This was the point of *life or death* with me. I was standing amidst men of the supposed greatest talent as civil engineers that the world could produce, and the point decided against me! This one time alone were my whole energies ever aroused. I never talked before—I was haggard and faint for want of food—my spirits sunk in sorrow in view of my

mournful prospects—clothes I had none—yet, standing over this model, did I battle with those men. Every word I uttered came from my inmost soul, and was big with truth—every argument carried conviction. The effect on those men was like magic—indeed, they must have been devils not to have believed under the circumstances. *I succeeded.* My agreement with the proprietor was, that I should superintend the construction of the bridge without any pay whatever, but during the time of the building I might sleep in the Gardens, and, if the bridge should succeed, it should be called "Remington's Bridge." I lodged in an old lion's cage, not strong enough for a lion, but, by putting some straw on the floor, held me very well, and indeed was a greater luxury than I had had for many months. The carpenters that worked on the bridge sometimes gave me part of their dinner. On this I lived, and was comparatively happy. It was a little novel, however, to see a man in rags directing gentlemanly-looking head carpenters. The bridge triumphed, and the cost was 8/., and was the greatest hit ever made in London. The money made by it is astonishingly great, thousand and tens of thousands crossing it, paying toll, besides being the great attraction to the Gardens. Not a publication in London but what has written largely upon it. Although I have never received a penny, nor never will, for building the bridge, I have no fault to find with Mr. Tyler, the proprietor, for he has done all fully that he promised to do—that was, to call it "Remington's Bridge." The largest wood-cut, perhaps, ever made in the world is made of the bridge. Every letter of my name is nearly as large as myself. The bridge to this day is the prominent curiosity of the Gardens. You can't open a paper but you may find "Remington's Bridge." Soon after it was built, I have frequently seen hundreds of men looking at the large picture of the bridge, at the corners of the streets, and envying Remington, when I have stood unknown in the crowd, literally starving. However, the great success of the bridge gave me some credit with a tailor. I got a suit of clothes and some shirts—a clean shirt. Any shirt was great, but a clean shirt—O, God, what a luxury! Thousands of cards were left for me at the Gardens, and men came to see the bridge from all parts of the kingdom. But with all my due bills in the hands of the hell-born Jews, of course I had to slope, and came down to Stafford. I first built the mill, which is the most popular patent ever taken in England. The coffee-pot, and many other small patents, take exceedingly well. The drainage of Tixall Meadows is the greatest triumph I have yet had in England. The carriage bridge for Earl Talbot is a most majestic and wonderfully beautiful thing. Dukes, marquises, earls, lords, &c., and their ladies, are coming to see it from all parts. I have now more orders for bridges from the aristocracy than I can execute in ten years, if I would do them. Indeed, I have been so much among the aristocracy of late, that what with high living, being so sudden a transition from starving, I have been compelled to go through a course of medicine, and am just now convalescent. Of course, anything once built precludes the possibility of taking a patent in England, but its merits and value are beyond all calculation. A permanent, beautiful, and steady bridge may be thrown across a river half a mile wide, out of the reach of floods, and without anything touching the water, at the most inconsiderable expense. The American patent is well secured at home I know. I shall continue to build a few

more bridges of larger and larger spans, and one of them a railroad bridge, in order that I may perfect myself in them so as to commence fair when I reach America. I have a great many more accounts of my exploits since I came to Stafford, but must defer sending them until next time. I beg you will write to me, for now, since a correspondence is opened, I shall be able to tell you something about England. I know it well. I have dined with earls, and from that down—down—down—down to where the knives, forks, and plates are chained to the table for fear they should be stolen.

I am, my dear sir,

Your obedient servant,

J. R. REMINGTON.

The bridge erected in the Surrey Gardens was described in the newspapers of the day with some minuteness. The *London Morning Advertiser* of September 7, 1847, speaks of it as follows:—

REMINGTON'S AERIAL BRIDGE.—This very wonderful and highly ingenious structure, the model of which was described in the *Morning Advertiser* of Thursday last, was yesterday thrown open to the visitors of the Surrey Zoological Gardens, large numbers of whom repeatedly crossed it, and expressed a general astonishment at the strength of a fabric composed of such slender materials. The inventor of this bridge is Mr. Remington, of Alabama, a gentleman who has perfected several contrivances of great utility in various departments of art, and who, in the present instance, has demonstrated the extent to which the economy of materials may be carried even in the greatest works. At the first view, Mr. Remington's bridge would impress the spectator with the idea that it was utterly inadequate to bear the weight of a solitary passenger; and after he had undeceived himself upon its capabilities in that respect, he will be completely at a loss to account for the prodigious strength which it exerts. On consideration, however, of the peculiarities of its construction, the difficulty will disappear, and the advantages of its application in a variety of circumstances be established. The chief portions of the fabric are the abutments, or wooden frames, from which the bridge is suspended, or rather, on which it rests. They are formed of a simple frame-work of a die-square timber, about twelve feet long, and sunk five feet in the ground. The timbers of each abutment are made to rake, or incline, at an angle of about seventy degrees from the river, for the purpose of better reacting against the tension of the bridge when loaded, and are strongly connected by cross scantlings. On the summit of each abutment is a rectangular frame, rising slightly towards the water-way, and carrying two transverse scantlings, six feet apart. The four laths, or stringers, which form the basis of the footway, are laid upon these scantlings, to which they are keyed, and which give to the bridge the peculiar curve, on which its efficiency partly depends. But it is chiefly to the mode of forming the stringers that the ingenuity of the arrangement consists, and which, on several accounts, is remarkable. As it would be difficult, or frequently impossible, to procure pieces of wood of the required size to connect the abutments, recourse must be had to the process of scarfing, by the adoption of which, in this instance, stringers of 83 feet in length have been formed by Mr. Remington. They have been made in five scarfs, united by glue, made for the purpose by Mr. J. Lowe, the head carpenter of the Surrey Gardens, by whom the

structure was made and put together, and possess throughout their length the longitudinal length of fibre due to their thickness at each point. They vary considerably in their section, as it is taken from the centre, being three inches and three quarters at each end, and only one inch square in the centre. These singularly small dimensions have nevertheless been found to carry several heavy loads, with which the efficiency of the structure has been tested. Transverse bars are tacked upon the stringers, at the interval of an inch or two, and with the addition of a rope on each side to serve as a rail, the bridge is complete. To understand how it happens that a combination of materials apparently so frail, has carried sixteen men, each bearing timber, and that, as we are assured, and make no doubt of the statement, it is capable of bearing five hundred men, at the same time, it must be understood, that the principal elements of the footway, viz., the stringers, are formed and arranged according to the known principles of a science of comparatively modern creation, embracing the facts relating to the strength of materials. The principle upon which the construction proceeds, may be thus briefly explained:—A slender prismatic beam, though requiring great force to tear it longitudinally, would nevertheless easily give way to a transverse force very much smaller. If suspended by its extremities, and the force made to act at the centre, the rod would snap in the centre; but if one of the points of suspension were shifted, then it would snap near the other extremity. This circumstance is applied to the purpose of a permanent footway by the position of the scantlings, or fulera, on which the stringers rest, and the operation of which is to remove the tendency of the bridge to break in the centre, and throw that liability on the thicker portions, near the abutments, which are fully able to resist the strain.

The stability of the structure may also be referred to another principle, viz., that a beam in a horizontal position, fixed at one end and pressed down at the other, is liable to break off near the fixed end. Here, by the scarfing of the stringers, the central scarf unites the two portions, into which each stringer may be supposed to be divided, and resists at a long leverage, its tendency to separate the fulcrum. These considerations, though not of a very recondite character, are nevertheless necessary, to reconcile the spectator to what must strike him in the first instance as being nothing short of an anomaly in the laws of physics. But there the bridge is to assert, by its astonishing performances, the truth and easy application of these simple principles, and the economy which it is possible to introduce into fabrics of the kind by their adoption. It only now remains for us to mention that Mr. Remington has abandoned to public service all interest in this, and in several other useful inventions which he has completed, and to express our hope, that a man who has deserved well of his country, first by his labor in bringing his plans to so grand a result, and then by placing no restriction on their use, will reap, in some shape, his reward, or at any rate be esteemed an able and bold engineer.

This success led to something more substantial. The inventor was employed by Earl Talbot to erect a bridge, 150 feet in length, over the river Trent, on his estates in Staffordshire. The "novelty in bridge building" is noticed in the *Staffordshire Advertiser* of July 15, 1847:—

NOVELTY IN BRIDGE BUILDING.—We have lately described some of the wonderful bridges which a recent trip to North Wales had given us an opportunity of inspecting, including the tubular bridge over the Conway, and the Britannia tubular bridge now in course of erection, and designed to carry the Holyhead Railway over the Menai Straits. We have much satisfaction, this week, in bringing under the notice of our readers, a work in our own immediate neighborhood, which, though of much smaller dimensions, is a great curiosity in its way, and perhaps as vast a triumph of scientific ingenuity and engineering skill as the gigantic structures to which we have alluded. We refer to a wooden bridge which has just been completed over the river Trent, near Ingestre, on an accommodation road of Earl Talbot's, leading from Ingestre to Shirleywich. The architect is Mr. J. R. Remington, a gentleman from Alabama, in the United States of America, of several of whose inventions we have before had occasion to speak.

This bridge is remarkable for the length of its span, about 150 feet, and for the diminutive dimensions of the timber used in its construction. It will almost appear incredible to our readers when we state that the six stringers, or beams which support the planks forming the floor of the bridge, are but five inches square at each end, and gradually diminish in size, until at the centre they are only two and one quarter inches, their length being, as already intimated, 150 feet. The stringers are formed of pieces of oak timber, each about 20 or 25 feet long, attached together by the method technically known as "scarfing." The abutments consist of oak posts, six inches square, and 15 feet long, and 5 feet in the ground, projecting outward at a considerable angle, and firmly clamped together with iron.

Mr. Remington's own language shall be employed in describing the principle on which the bridge is built. "The great principle sought to be proved in this bridge (says Mr. R.) is, that a beam of timber, of whatever size, shape, or length, lying horizontally, and resting at each extremity on abutments, is as strong, and will require as much weight on the top of it to break it, as it would take to break the same piece when pulled longitudinally in the direction of the fibre." We apprehend that Mr. Remington's meaning would be better understood if he had said that the principle consists in the longitudinal power of timber being applied in a curvilinear form, by which every portion of the material is brought at once into play, and supports an equal share of the strain. Instead of springing from the abutments as an arch, or resting upon them as a horizontal bridge, the stringers may be said to hang or be suspended from the piers, thus bringing the principle of the longitudinal bearing into action.

We understand that many practical men, to whom the principle was explained, doubted, in the first instance, its applicability to a bridge of this size, but they are now willing to admit its complete success, which, indeed, is demonstrated. We have seen several carriages pass over it, and have ourselves driven across it. There is a vibratory motion when anything passes along the bridge, but there is scarcely any perceptible deflection; and we cannot but express our own conviction of the complete triumph of this novel and most extraordinary system of bridge building.

The stringers curve gracefully upwards from each abutment, and then gradually bend in a cur-

vilinear direction downwards to the centre of the bridge; the lowest point being twenty-four inches below the level of the abutments. The curves near to the abutments are designed more for beauty than for strength; but we understand that they are indispensable in faulty foundations, which is the case in the present instance. There is a hand-rail on each side of the bridge, attached to the floor by trellis work; and as the hand-rail is of considerable strength, and is fixed to the abutments in the same mode as the stringers, it adds materially to the security and solidity of the bridge.

The main advantage of this description of bridge is its *cheapness*. The cost of the structure which we are describing is only about £200; whereas, a bridge to accomplish the same purpose, built on any other plan, would have required an expenditure of many thousand pounds. Another advantage is, that such a bridge can be erected in situations where any other wooden bridge would be impracticable. A third advantage is, that the span may, as we are informed, be extended ten times as far as any wooden bridge ever yet constructed; and it may be added, that the inventor is of opinion that such bridges will be more durable than those of any other make.

Although many foot bridges have been erected on this principle in America, and one in the Surrey Zoological Gardens, yet this is the first instance, we are informed, of a bridge of this construction being built for carriages. Earl Talbot having satisfied himself of the feasibility of the plan, instructed Mr. Remington to build the bridge: thus affording another proof of that enterprise and zeal for improvement, of which his lordship's estates afford so many conspicuous and successful examples. His lordship and family have frequently used the bridge, and are much gratified with the success which has attended the experiment. Lord Hatherton has likewise inspected it twice, and has, with a heavy laden carriage, passed over it. On Thursday, a cart with a load weighing two tons passed over it without occasioning a deflection, we are authentically informed, of the eighth of an inch.

When we state, in conclusion, that such has been the expedition used in the erection of the bridge, that six weeks ago the timber of which it is constructed was growing, we think we have proved that "Novelty in Bridge Building" was not an inappropriate title to the present article.

Another triumph of the young inventor, another wave to the tide now at flood, at last, was his success in draining a swamp belonging to Earl Talbot, by several ingenious contrivances, described (not very clearly) in the following article, also from an English paper:—

THE DRAINAGE OF TIXALL MEADOWS.—Many of our readers are aware that amongst the great improvements which have been effected by Lord Hatherton, on his estate at Teddesley, in this county, not the least is in the important branch of draining, which has been so admirably managed that the water drawn from the higher portions of the estate is used to irrigate the lower lands, and is also made doubly serviceable by being employed to turn a water-wheel, the power thus gained being employed in grinding, threshing, &c. The enemy is, by these means, converted into a friend. A somewhat similar, though perhaps a more singular and ingenious experiment, has just been tried on the meadows of Tixall, near this town, on the

estate of Earl Talbot. These meadows are about seventy acres in extent, and are in the occupation of Mr. Warner and Mr. Scott. They lie so low, and are so level, that their surface has been covered with water, of late years, for almost nine months out of the twelve. The evil has lately been increasing to such a degree that this great extent of land was rapidly becoming little better than a gigantic bed of rushes and a useless swamp. Engineers of celebrity had been consulted on the subject, but the plans they proposed for draining these meadows were so expensive, and so doubtful as to their probable issue, that all idea of adopting them has been abandoned.

Some months ago, Mr. Remington, of whose clever inventions we have had occasion repeatedly to speak, inspected the *locus in quo*, as the lawyers call it, and said he would undertake to drain it. The work was commenced about five months since; and a shallow ditch on the north side of the meadows has been converted, by means of an embankment, into a small canal about a mile in length, and a vast quantity of surface water is by its means diverted from the meadows, and being carried to a point where the principal drain running down the centre of the land terminates, it is used for the purpose of working a most ingenious engine, of Mr. Remington's invention, for pumping the water out of the drain. The engine consists of a circular pan constructed of sheet iron, four feet four inches in diameter, and ten inches deep. At the bottom of the pan is a throttle-valve, so formed as to close when the water rushes into it; but when the weight of water lowers the pan to a certain point, the valve opens, to allow the water to escape. A rod from the centre of the pan is connected, by means of pulleys and a chain, with a pump working in the adjoining drain; and the chain beam is so regulated as to form a balance between the pan and the pump. A small bolt, at the end of the canal which we have described, is raised, by means of an iron arm attached to the rod of the pan, every time the pan ascends, and the bolt is further gradually elevated by means of two weights attached to a lever, by which simple contrivance, when the bolt is lifted to a short distance, the weight carries it to the full height, and ensures a discharge of water sufficient to lower the pan. There are several minute contrivances connected with this simple but effective machinery, which must be seen to be properly understood and appreciated; such, for instance, as the one which opens the valve of the pan on its descent. In order to meet the variable height of the water below, the instrument is made to float. Indeed, one of the great objects accomplished by this method of applying water power is, that no ordinary amount of back water can interrupt the working of the engine. The pump is also of as simple and ingenious construction as the other part of the apparatus. The main cylinder is thirty-two inches in diameter, and the plunger twenty-seven; and, notwithstanding the fact that the plunger does not come in contact, by packing or otherwise, with the sides of the cylinder, the effect of the customary piston of a pump is produced without loss of water. According to Mr. Remington's calculation, twenty-six gallons of water are raised and discharged by the pump at every stroke. Every one who inspects this beautiful contrivance, must be struck with its admirable adaptation to the purpose intended. It has been at work three days. One of its strongest recommendations is, that it is self-acting, and requires no attention. By means

of what we have called the canal, a large quantity of water has been removed from the meadows, which are firm and dry, compared with their state ten days ago; and the utmost confidence is expressed by both Mr. Warner and Mr. Scott that, by this clever and comparatively inexpensive contrivance, a complete draining will be effected.

From the Spectator, 21st Oct.

GOOD IN EVERYTHING.

ALTHOUGH the gale which has blown throughout Europe for the last eight months has been distinguished among revolutions by the comparative scantiness of the sanguinary element, there have been some few of those shocking incidents which mark all desperate conflicts in the human family. During the civil war of June, Paris witnessed the death of many in wanton bloodshed. The Sicilians slew their prisoners at Messina, and are accused of cannibalism! Lichnowsky was hunted to death at Frankfort, Lamberg was slain in the streets of Pesth, and Latour was gibbeted in Vienna. And on account of such scenes, a writer who has undertaken the obsolete task of vindicating the defunct rule of Austria, exclaims, that "for shameless license, for savage vindictiveness, for bloodthirsty tyranny, no despot can match a mob broke loose." A bold assertion, when one follows the tracks of victorious armies in any quarter of the world. Indeed, we cannot see the vast difference between the democratic excesses and the royal excesses of the very revolution that is going on. The mob that broke into the Tuileries did show some respect for its adornments, luxuries though they were, because they were works of art; but no similar respect has been shown by the Austrian soldiers stabled in the palaces of Milan—those abodes of an ancient history. The Sicilians slew some prisoners in cold blood; but it was the king, safe at a coward distance, that bombarded the fair city of Messina. It was a mob that hunted Lichnowsky to death, a mob that gibbeted Latour; but it was an emperor that doomed Confalonieri to waste in hopeless prison, and raised a Gallician jaquerie—a king that cannonaded his "beloved Berliners." Do not deal out condemnation or absolution, for the same offence, according to the quality of the criminal: the cruelty of cold blood is only the more shocking when it keeps its coldness under luxurious ermine; the ruffian in rags is not more wicked than the ruffian in robes who wears a crown by "the grace of God;" excited democracy is not more barbarous than vindictive royalty.

Nor are popular excesses in themselves merely damnable: even these later scenes in Germany, though more revolting to the sense because of the individual interest felt in the victims, are not unmixed wickedness. The most like an act of wanton wickedness is the slaughter of Prince Lichnowsky; but we do not believe it to have been what is properly to be called a popular excess. The rabble that made the prince their quarry in that odious chase was evidently imported from a distance; and all countries have ruffianly crews that form the dregs of every class. But in the other cases there are distinctions. Count Lamberg came before the Hungarians as the impersonation of a policy at once treacherous, flagrantly illegal and insolent; and in accepting his mission he braved the fate he met. Count Latour, however loyal to his sovereign and gallant as a soldier, had supplied the strongest provocatives to popular rage: he had

been detected in a treacherous correspondence with a dreaded enemy; at the door of the war-office cannon had poured a deadly fire on the mob, whose blood was roused to madness; their desire for revenge was piqued by his hiding, and a certain degree of meanness in the act of hiding from danger added the impulse of contempt to the combined furor of hatred, fear, and revenge. Such exhibitions are lamentable; but at least they teach a lesson which might too easily have been forgotten—that ministerial responsibility has a basis of reality, and has not become a mere figment—that, south-west of Russia, statesmen are not to brave whole nations on the strength of the sign-manual.

More: they teach that the peoples are living flesh and blood; that a prince is not to handle "my subjects" like puppets; that economists have not done their all when they have classified a "population" even in the neatest of tables; and that statesmen are not to slur over whole races as disposed of in "a geographical expression." Statesmen are taught that the people whom they are to govern are greater than their governors; less apt to rule, *because* more unwieldy, but therefore more to be considered than the rulers. They are taught that if statecraft can accumulate a power tremendous over the nations, a people in its wrath is more terrible still. And the lesson is not the less real because it comes in the rough and shocking form of blood and gibbets retaliated upon those governors who have forgotten to discriminate between offenders against the law and peoples honestly vindicating their rights.

But there is still more in it than even that. Do you believe that when the sabre red with the blood of Lamberg was held aloft in the Diet of Hungary and the Assembly shouted approval, that all the men there, or even the majority of them, were ruffians? No; you know better. Why did they shout, then? Because the emperor had thrown the stake of life or death, and the Hungarians accepted the challenge; because they, shouting, declared that they were willing to stake death and destruction to vindicate the independence of their country, as they had done before; because in that blood they saw that they had snatched the earnest of the victory that belongs to hardihood, and knew that it would carry to Vienna the defiance that attested the old undaunted spirit of their race—the race which had stood between Europe and the Turk, and had so long maintained its stand against Austria. Now, do you sympathize in that shout? Do you, who perchance have read how Achilles shouted, and have gloried in the terror of that voice which made men recoil until many were killed in the press—have exulted in the despairing carnage of Thermopylæ—have enjoyed the advice of the Roman to his veterans that they should slash the faces of the young recruits whom they were to encounter; you who have read how Amadis of Gaul rode up to the thickest of the fight, on that terrible day when he and his fellows vanquished King Cildadan and his hundred knights, his sword "bloody up to the hilt"—who have relished the flashing of British bayonets at Meanee, and have felt the fire of admiration in your eye at seeing the lion-like Lamoricière march among the hail of bullets to redder his sword in the blood of his countrymen; you, who have dwelt with a fierce pleasure on these and hundreds more of such passages in history and romance, do you devour the narratives even of these deadly scenes in Europe with mere revulsion? The cruelty of cowardice is sick-

ening; but even in reading of that, you cannot but feel your bosom swell with pride for the sake of a Lichnowsky, who breasts with the Promethean fortitude of a Titan the cruel appetite of the beast that devours him. Remembering the treachery of Latour—the deadly fight—the eager search—the drunkenness of that bloody hour—you hold your breath, you shudder as you see the naked corpse swinging to and fro to the violence of the populace; but a powerful interest has hurried you on in the story—there is *something* even there that grasps your sympathy, if not your admiration: you have enjoyed the blood and wounds of the tales of chivalry—you would be disappointed if this dreadful tragedy were not carried to its end.

Why? what is that something which possesses your mind? It is that you recognize those passions—trained mostly, now-a-days, subdued, but not extinguished—which belong to the primary elements of human nature—its great inherent energies, its impulses, by what rough way soever, towards great actions and great ends; you are, for a moment unshackled from the restraints of transitory usage, and run wild in the first wilderness of nature; you behold, opened to your astonished view, the great volcano of life, and in its vast alembic you see pain and terror converted to triumph—even suffering has its exaltation, and the living principle transmutes bad to good; you know once more the full strength that is in your kind, and for the rough work which is still before the world, recognize the might of passion to face danger, horror, and despair. You have preserved its image in the poems that are the proudest work of genius—you have worshipped it in that mirror; and now, knowing it in the living reality, you cannot refuse to bow before it.

From Chambers' Journal.

LIEBIG ON THE VITAL FORCES.*

THE present work of Liebig is a continuation of the labors he has been so long engaged in to elucidate and explain the powers employed by nature to carry on animal and vegetable life. Some of these powers are the very same as we see at work in the inorganic world, or among inanimate things. Gravity, cohesion, solution, and the combinations and decompositions specially treated of in chemistry, are all largely concerned in the phenomena of vitality; as well as in the other phenomena of the world; they are *vital forces*, although they may not be the only vital forces. It seems likely that, in addition to the numerous properties and powers of inorganic bodies, there are certain distinct forces belonging exclusively to living bodies, which are not developed or brought into existence except in matter endowed with life, and which would therefore deserve to be called vital forces by preëminence, or the specific powers of organic existence. But these forces, of themselves, could not sustain the life of a creature; for this end they must cooperate with a great many of the forces that adhere alike to living and dead matter; so that it is a great mistake to speak of the vital force, or of the *one* power that keeps vegetables and animals alive, and enables

*Researches on the Motion of the Juices in the Animal Body, by Justice Liebig, M. D., Professor of Chemistry in the University of Giessen. Edited from the Manuscript of the Author, by William Gregory, M. D., Professor of Chemistry in the University of Edinburgh. London: printed for Taylor and Walton, Upper Gower Street. 1848.

them to grow, and fructify, and reproduce their like. Life is made up, in the first place, of a very elaborate and complex *structural* arrangement, a highly organized mechanism or anatomy; and in the second place, of the operation of the various *powers* and *properties* belonging to all the materials of this structure, whether these powers be mechanical, chemical, or vital—that is to say, including the properties that the substances possess while in the inorganic form, and whatever new properties they may put forth in their organized arrangement. Thus, water is one of the most invariable constituents of living bodies; and the numerous properties that it has in its separate state are all made use of to the full in the animal and vegetable systems. Should it be deprived of any of these, (as of its fluidity, by being frozen,) the living thing that it happened to be associated with would as certainly be killed as if the special forces of the organized structure were totally suspended.

It will thus be evident that the study of living bodies must not be confined to an isolated search after the peculiar forces of vitality, but must embrace the application of the other natural forces to the operations of life. It is necessary to begin with tracing all the effects of the inorganic forces upon these operations; and when we are sure that we have done this to the full, if we find that there remain certain processes still unaccounted for, we may set them down to the special powers of organized nature; and from the character of the processes thus separated and distinguished from all the rest, we may infer the exact nature of these organic powers. In this way we shall know at last (as far as the thing is knowable) what is the secret or the mystery of life.

Few need to be told that we are as yet a good way off from this desirable consummation. At present, scientific inquirers are occupying themselves with the first stage of the investigation, or the tracing out of the operations that may be sustained within the living body by the inorganic forces alone, supposing these to work out their effects exactly as they do in their ordinary connections with inanimate matter; and no one pretends to doubt that, for example, the laws regulating the latent heat of water and steam are strictly observed in the case of the constituent water of organic bodies.

In his present work, Liebig has devoted himself to the elucidation of one class of physical forces employed in vegetable and animal life—namely, the forces of the absorption or imbibition of fluids by membranes, and other tissues and solid substances permeable to fluids, whether liquid or gaseous. It is well known to all who have attended to the mechanism and processes of the animal body, that this process of imbibition goes on very extensively within it; indeed, this is almost the only way that fluids can enter many parts of the system. If we look at the blood-distributing mechanism, we shall find that it is an apparatus of shut tubes, circling from the heart through the body, and from the body back to the heart; but nowhere in all its course (excepting the two junctions in the neck with the lymphatic trunks) does it present any opening or outlets that could either discharge or receive a liquid stream. And yet the purpose of the circulation is to take in matters at some parts of its course, and give them out at others. It takes in from the alimentary canal, in a liquid shape, the nourishing matter of the food; it gives out matter to the liver and the kidneys. In the lungs, it takes

in one gas and gives out another; and in all the tissues of the body there is a continual exchange of substance going on through the walls of the small blood tubes which are diffused everywhere: fresh matter to nourish and replace the surrounding tissue passes out of each tube by sweating through its sides; and a portion of the altered and useless matter, by a similar process, is taken in and carried along the circulation. The blood is a very mixed and complicated fluid, being the commissariat for supplying every distinct tissue with its proper material; and on entering any one tissue, such as muscle, the particles of fresh muscle are given out, and certain parts of the used-up muscle drawn in instead: the new matter and the old pass one another in the pores of the blood tubes. It is the same with brain or mucus membrane, or any other of the substances that are subject to the tear and wear of the living action.

It will thus be evident that one distinct force in constant requisition in the animal economy is the force of fluid imbibition, which therefore becomes a subject of study and of interest to every lover of knowledge. Like all other branches of inquiry into nature, it has both a speculative and a practical value; it is a part of the mystery of existence, which the intellect of man has always been intent on solving, and at the same time of the utmost importance to our corporeal well-being.

With the view of ascertaining the precise character and the most simple mode of expressing the workings of this force, Liebig instituted a set of experiments on the passage of liquids through animal membranes. Like experiments and like inferences from them have also been made by others, who must therefore share with Liebig the merits of whatever advances human knowledge may have now attained in this department.

In order to connect the force of fluid imbibition with forces familiar to us in the inanimate world, a few words of reference to these forces will be necessary.

Of natural powers possessing mechanical force, or capable of setting material masses in motion, the most prominent and striking is the falling force or weight, called in Latin "gravity." The full range of this power, as first seen by Newton, extends to the starry heavens, and knows no bounds that we are aware of. Distance diminishes its intensity, by spreading it over space, but does not destroy it. Its effects are preëminently on the large scale.

It requires a greater effort of attention to appreciate a different class of attractions which operate only on the atoms or small particles of bodies. All substances that we know of are made up of fine particles held together by attractive or adhesive forces. The firm, solid masses of stone and metal that we see about us are aggregates or masses of powdery atoms, too fine to be distinguished by the most powerful microscope; and the reason why they do not preserve the condition of powder or dust is, that nature has given them strong attractions for one another, so that in favorable circumstances they stick all together with an intense energy, which it often requires a great force to overcome. Mere gravity would not keep particles together with such a degree of compact firmness. Now although the general effect of these atomic attractions is very obvious to our senses, by making all the difference between the dust that floats in the wind and the rocks that defy the ocean, yet their operation on the individual particles cannot be observed, owing to the excessive smallness of such particles compared with our powers of vision. But

if we take the liberty of representing an atom by an apple, and a brother atom by a second apple, and if we imagine these two apples so attracting each other that it takes a powerful pull to draw them asunder; and if, moreover, we conceive that attraction is not the whole of the action that goes on between them, there being at the same time an intense repulsion that holds them from coming perfectly close, we shall possess an illustration of the forces that maintain the solid structure of bodies. If we imagine the two apples held at a distance of half an inch from each other, and so fixed between two forces, one preventing them from being drawn asunder, and the other preventing them from coming any nearer, we shall have a picture of what occurs between every two particles of a piece of iron or stone. Each atom of iron clings to its fellows all around it with an intense adhesion, which, however, is counteracted by a repulsion that makes them all keep at a certain distance from each other. The attraction is an inherent property of the particles, but the repulsion may be very much modified by heat.

Of this binding attraction (which gives us firm masses instead of what in Scotland might be called a universe of *stour*) there are two different kinds, which we have carefully to distinguish. The first is the kind that obtains between particles of the same substance—the adhesion of iron to iron, lead to lead, sulphur to sulphur, ice to ice, clay to clay. This has been called *homogeneous* attraction, or kindred attraction. By enabling each atom to cling, by a preference, to its fellow of the same class, it keeps up the distinctness and purity of substances; and without it, we should have a general chaos of all the materials of nature, to the utter confusion of their specific and distinctive usefulness. Pure gold or pure water would be an impossibility, were it not for the kindred affinity of the particles of each; for if they were once broken up, and intermingled with strange matters, there would be no means of separating the mixture.

The other kind of atomic attraction is what subsists between the atoms of different substances. Although the attraction of each for its own kind is the primary law, there is, over and above this, certain cases where the particles of one kind attract the particles of another kind. Thus, besides the adhesion of copper to copper, and tin to tin, there is an adhesion of copper to tin, such that, when they are melted together, the one diffuses itself through the other, and the whole mass becomes coherent under three different atomic attractions. But the most common, and perhaps, on the whole, the most important instance of this action, is the wetting of bodies by water, or the adhesion of watery particles to the particles of other bodies. The action is not an unlimited one: it is not a matter of course that any substance will show an attraction for any other substance; on the contrary, some substances are wholly destitute of adhesion to certain others, and some have the power of adhering to many, and some to few. The phenomenon is very variable; and it is one of the specific characteristics or properties of every substance to have a certain amount of adhesive affinity to certain other assignable substances. To distinguish this kind of attraction from the first, it is called *heterogeneous*, or foreign, or alien affinity. Liebig, and some others, reckon it a kind of chemical affinity, because it operates, like chemical affinity, between the atoms of bodies; but in this country it is usual to reserve the name "chemical" to the affinity that transforms two sub-

stances that are mixed together into a third, with properties totally distinct from either—as in the affinity between oxygen and hydrogen when they form water.

As the purity and separate existence of the various materials of the globe are maintained by kindred attraction, so a certain number of mixtures and adhesions arise from foreign attraction. All cements operate on this principle; likewise the alloys of metals, the composition of rocks, and the dissolution of solids in liquids, and of liquids and airs in liquids. The penetration of liquids into the pores of solids is a very conspicuous example of the same action—as in the swelling of wood by being wetted, the absorption of water by a sponge, and the rise of oil in wicks. When glass tubes are formed of a very fine bore, if they are dipped with one end in water, the water will rise up several inches above its level, the rise being greater as the tube is smaller. This case has been called capillary attraction, because the tubes are so fine, as to be compared to hairs. But the name is a misleading one, and carries the mind quite away from the real cause of the rise of the liquid, which is the attraction of the water for the glass. If a capillary tube were formed of tallow or bees' wax, there would be no such rise; these substances not being of the class that water has an attraction for.

The present researches of Liebig have reference to the foreign or alien attraction that we have now explained; and they involve two different cases of it, which are complicated together in one operation: the cases are, the attraction of one liquid for another, causing them to mix together; and the attraction of liquids for porous solid membranes, which leads to their imbibition or absorption. We shall now describe some of his experiments.

Animal membranes and tissues are permeable to all liquids whatsoever: they are in no case liquor-tight; and when two liquids disposed to mix are separated only by a membrane, the mixture is retarded, but not prevented. If a piece of bladder is stretched across the end of a tube, and if the tube is filled with brine, and immersed in pure water, so that the two liquids touch the bladder, one on one side, and the other on the other side, an exchange takes place through the bladder—brine flows down out of the tube, and water flows up into the tube; and the crossing or exchanging movement continues till the liquid outside and inside is of the same uniform degree of saltiness. So, if alcohol and water are put in the same predicament, with a membrane separating them, there is a cross-current between the two till an even mixture has been produced—the presence of the membrane does not suspend the alien attraction of particles of water for particles of alcohol.

So far the phenomenon presents no remarkable singularity. But it has been observed that, in many cases of this kind of mixture, more of the one liquid passes through than of the other; and at the end of the process, the quantities remaining on the two sides are changed, one being increased, and the other diminished. Thus, in the case of water and brine, the water flows faster through to the brine than the brine to the water, and the bulk of the mixture on the side of the brine is increased, while the bulk on the side of the water has diminished. So when alcohol and water are used, the alcohol passes in least quantity, and therefore increases in bulk, while the water diminishes. This would happen, even if the alcohol, the lighter of the two, were uppermost in the experiment: the specific

gravities are not concerned in the process. This case of alteration of bulks, when first discovered, was reckoned a new and remarkable phenomenon, caused by a peculiar and distinct force, and the names *endosmose* and *exosmose* were applied to designate the action.

It is now, however, distinctly understood that no new and unknown power of nature is employed in the matter. The inequality of flow is owing to attraction of the membrane itself for the two liquids. Like most other porous solids, animal membrane has a strong attachment for water, and sucks it into its pores so energetically, as to swell out by the action. It has likewise an attraction for brine, or the mixture of salt and water; but this attraction is not so strong as for the pure water. Hence, if water be at one side and brine at the other, both will be absorbed, but the water will be drawn in most strongly and most rapidly; and hence a greater quantity of it will pass out at the other side—that is, more water will pass through to the brine than brine to the water. There is the same superiority in the attraction for the water in the case of alcohol and water. Also, if pure water is used with a solution of sugar in water, the sugared water will increase in bulk, and the pure water will diminish. The greater the difference in the attractions of the liquids for the membrane itself, the more marked will be the change of bulks, from the inequality of the transudation. Thus, a solution of albumen has an exceedingly small attraction for animal membrane; hence, when it lies at one side, and water at the other, the permeation is almost all on the side of the water, or the water passes through to the albumen, while scarcely any albumen passes through to the water: it is a case of one-sided absorption rather than of mutual exchange.

The phenomenon, therefore, is the result of three different attractions—one between the liquids themselves, such as would make them thoroughly mix with each other whenever they came in contact; and two between the membrane and the two liquids. If the membrane's attraction is the same for both liquids, the flow is equal to both sides; if it is greater for one, that one passes through in greatest quantity. And as, in general, water has a stronger attraction for membrane than other liquids, it will show the most abundant absorption.

Liebig points out several applications of these doctrines in the animal body, which contains a vast assemblage of membranous tubes. Thus, in drinking pure water, the absorption through the walls of the stomach into the blood is more rapid than with any other liquid. A solution of salt stagnates for a considerable time before it is taken into the circulation; and in that time it exercises the well-known purgative influence in the intestines. So, tea or milk will remain much longer in the stomach than water. The rapidity of the absorption of pure water is very great, and enables water-drinkers to pass an extraordinary quantity through the body in a short time. In proportion as the water is mixed with any dissolved matter—common salt, salts of soda or magnesia, iron, lime, &c.—its absorptive power is reduced; and if drunk in the same quantities as pure water, it will cause a heavy oppression both in the stomach and in the blood-vessels; being obstructed first in its passage into the circulation, and next in its passage into the kidneys.

The consequence in the animal body of the very little affinity of albumen for membranous tissues, is the more effectual retention of the blood in the blood-vessels, blood being composed of albumen

and a number of other matters, which have all a low attraction for the sides of the tubes. These substances must of course not be wholly retained in the blood-vessels, as their purpose is to nourish the tissues; but it would seem that they require to be prevented from passing through with the same rapidity as watery solutions of other matters.

The various membranes of the body, and the walls of the different viscera, probably possess unequal attractions for different liquids, and this may in part determine the tendency that they have to pass particular fluids in preference to others. But this is a very obscure subject, and there seem to be other forces at work in the selective power of the various secreting organs in addition to mechanical imbibition or transudation.

The present volume contains the description of another class of experiments, of the same general tenor, but calculated to illustrate especially the influence of the cutaneous transpiration of the animal body, or the escape of vapors through the skin, upon the motion of the liquids in the interior. There is a constant escape of watery vapor, mixed with other vapors and gases, from all the pores of the skin, the water being the most copious ingredient; and this transpiration is very fluctuating, and is dependent on the condition of the external air, as well as on the state of the body itself. Experience shows that the health and vitality of the individual are greatly affected by it.

Liebig has made experiments upon tubes closed with bladder, and filled with water, so that one side of the bladder is in contact with water, and the other side with the external air. In this arrangement the water evaporates through the bladder into the air; and when the tube is a bent one, the bending being at the top, and one of the arms (which both point downwards) covered with bladder at the mouth, while the other is immersed in a vessel of liquid, the evaporation from the free end leads to a rise of fresh liquor, by the atmospheric pressure on the liquid of the vessel, even if the immersed end be likewise closed with bladder; so that the effect of evaporation through the walls of the tubes is to keep up a motion of the liquid within the tubes. Thus, evaporation from the skin takes off pressure from the liquids of the capillaries, and they are driven on by the pressure behind with so much the more rapidity. In a word, cutaneous transpiration has the effect of increasing the rapidity of the circulation in the neighborhood of the skin, and therefore of increasing the functions of the blood in renewing the tissues and maintaining the vigor and vitality of the system. For, as life consists of the uninterrupted decay and renovation of the muscle, nerve, mucus membrane, and the other organs and tissues, so the more rapidly these two processes go on, provided they keep an equal pace—that is, the renovation equal to the decay—the greater is the force and feeling of life in the individual. Hence the value, among other things, of an uninterrupted evaporation through the pores of the skin. The impulse thus generated to the movement of the liquids has the same general effect as an increase of the power of the heart to send blood through the body. The evaporation from the lungs is another case of the same principle: the more abundant it is, the more rapid is the circulation in the lungs, and the greater the aëration or purification of the blood.

But evaporation is always dependent on the dryness of the external atmosphere. When the air is perfectly saturated with moisture, no vapor rises

from stagnant pools; and although the high temperature of the body will always cause a certain amount to go off from the skin, yet in a moist atmosphere the action must be very much repressed. The fluids thus lose one of the forces that keep them moving; they stagnate to some degree; the processes of wear and renovation are diminished; and the powers of life stand at a lower figure. The stagnation may be such as to bring on some unhealthy change in the fluids, and then we have disease. It is of course quite possible that the cutaneous evaporation may be too great, and the motion of the fluids made disproportional to other processes, which also will cause disease. Health is the result of a perfect balance of all the functions; but in general it is seen that a dry air and free evaporation are favorable to vital activity, and a moist air is a ready source of disease.

Liebig extends the same reasoning to plants whose leaves present a large extent of evaporating surface. He thinks that this evaporation may be the chief force that maintains the motion of the sap; he quotes a number of experiments made in the last century by Hales, to confirm this supposition; and as the partial stagnation of the animal fluids, from a checked transpiration, is a cause of weakness and disease, so he considers that plants are struck with blight in the same way. Influenza and the potato disease are caused or promoted by the same atmospheric peculiarity of excess of moisture. From Hales's observations he quotes an instance of the blight of hops under the circumstances of a period of intense heat, which gave a great impulse to growth, followed by a long succession of moist, close days, and consequent stagnation of the over-abundant sap.

The volume concludes with a paper by Dr. Klotzsch, of Berlin, on an improvement in potato cultivation. The idea of it is, to pinch off about half an inch from the ends of the twigs of each plant twice in the course of the season; first, in the fourth or fifth week, or when the plants are from six to nine inches above the soil, and again in the tenth or eleventh week. The object is to prevent the growth of the flowers of the plant, and to send all the force that would be expended on these, to the roots, as well as to the stems and leaves, whose action on the air ministers to the growth of the tubers beneath. It is said that in this way the produce of the potato will be very much increased, while the liability to blight will be diminished. A more limited form of the practice has been in existence for some time, but it is worth being tried to the full extent now mentioned.

From the New York Albion.

POEMS. By OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES. Boston. 1849. W. D. Ticknor & Co.

THIS new and enlarged edition of Dr. Holmes' poetical effusions will be welcomed far and near. His sparkling fancy and felicitous wit, his quaint conceits and rhythmical skill, have earned for some of his lyrics a wide-spread and well-merited repute. We much prefer the songs and short pieces in this collection to the lengthier and more pretentious compositions. The latter are discursive and consequently in some measure wearisome, though containing here and there original ideas, and much clever versification. But the minor poems are compact, complete, finished off to a point—little dainty scraps that one unconsciously commits to

memory—gems that would glitter still, if type were all melted down.

The public have had the good taste to see Dr. Holmes safely through two editions, one in 1837, another in 1846. The one before us is presented to notice in the most inviting form, as is generally the case with volumes of verse put forth by the Boston publishers. The muses, too, it would seem, have their Lowell in New England, where garments decorous and comely are plentifully provided for them. And not only are the native poets honorably attired there, but Tennyson, Leigh Hunt, Barry Cornwall, and other English contemporaries find in Boston a liberal patronage.

Dr. Holmes' "Qui Vive?" "The Last Leaf," "Lines to an Insect," "The Ballad of the Oyster-man," "The Comet," and "The Parting Word," are widely known and deservedly admired. The following extract from this book is, however, new. It appears for the first time in the present edition, and is a most excellent sample of the author's racy humor, genial, generous feeling, and happy skill in working out his subject. It may call to mind "The fine old English Gentleman," but what of that? There may surely be two good peaches on the same bough—two good songs in the same style and metre. It is somewhat long for quotation, but we cannot consent to curtail it. Take it *entire*, gentle reader, and then thank us, and buy the book.

ON LENDING A PUNCH-BOWL.

This ancient silver bowl of mine—it tells of good old times,
Of joyous days and jolly nights, and merry Christmas chimes:
They were a free and jovial race, but honest, brave, and true,
That dipped their ladle in the punch when the old bowl was new.

A Spanish galleon brought the bar—so runs the ancient tale—
'T was hammered by an Antwerp smith, whose arm was like a flail;
And now and then between the strokes, for fear his strength should fail,
He wiped his brow, and quaffed a cup of good old Flemish ale.

'T was purchased by an English squire to please his loving dame,
Who saw the cherubs, and conceived a longing for the same;
And oft as on the ancient stock another twig was found,
'T was filled with caudle spiced and hot, and handed smoking round.

But, changing hands, it reached at length a Puritan divine,
Who used to follow Timothy, and take a little wine,
But hated punch and prelacy; and so it was, perhaps,
He went to Leyden, where he found conventicles and schnaps.

And then, of course, you know what's next—it left the Dutchman's shore
With those that in the Mayflower came—a hundred souls and more—

Along with all the furniture, to fill their new abodes—
To judge by what is still on hand, at least a hundred loads.

'T was on a dreary winter's eve, the night was closing dim,
When old Miles Standish took the bowl, and filled it to the brim;
The little captain stood and stirred the posset with his sword,
And all his sturdy men at arms were ranged about the board.

He poured the fiery Hollands in—the man that never feared—
He took a long and solemn draught, and wiped his yellow beard;
And one by one the musketeers, the men that fought and prayed,
All drank as 't were their mother's milk, and not a man afraid!

That night, affrighted from his nest, the screaming eagle flew.
He heard the Pequot's ringing whoop, the soldier's wild halloo;
And there the sachem learned the rule he taught to kith and kin,
"Run from the white man when you find he smells of Hollands gin!"

A hundred years, and fifty more had spread their leaves and snows,
A thousand rubs had flattened down each little cherub's nose;
When once again the bowl was filled, but not in mirth or joy,
'T was mingled by a mother's hand to cheer her parting boy.

"Drink, John," she said, "'t will do you good—poor child, you 'll never bear
This working in the dismal trench, out in the midnight air,
And if—God bless me—you were hurt, 't would keep away the chill;"
So John *did* drink—and well he wrought that night at Bunker's Hill!

I tell you, there was generous warmth in good old English cheer;
I tell you, 't was a pleasant thought to bring its symbol here;
'T is but the fool that loves excess—hast thou a drunken soul,
Thy bane is in thy shallow skull, not in my silver bowl!

I love the memory of the past—its pressed yet fragrant flowers—
The moss that clothes its broken walls—the ivy on its towers—
Nay, this poor bauble it bequeathed—my eyes grow moist and dim,
To think of all the vanished joys that danced around its brim.

Then fill a fair and honest cup, and bear it straight to me;
The goblet hallows all it holds, whate'er the liquid be;
And may the cherubs on its face protect me from the sin,
That dooms one to those dreadful words—"My dear, where *have* you been?"

YOUR BUSINESS IS UNDER CONSIDERATION.

FROM THE FRENCH OF PETIT SENN OF GENEVA.

EVERY administration in the world—whether it be the executive of the state, or a corporation board, or a committee, or an individual, “dressed in a little brief authority”—has a greater or less store of dilatory phrases to which recourse is had for the purpose of answering urgent applications, putting off the impatient, satisfying the clamorous, and giving to all petitioners, the impression of unceasing labor in their cause. At the head of these phrases for answering everything and everybody, the sentence surely deserves to be placed, “Your business is under consideration.” Admirable phrase! admirable for the very vagueness of its definiteness and the very definiteness of its vagueness. Laconic too! as brief as could possibly be desired. It is eminently an administrative phrase. Unparalleled in its applicability, it adapts itself to everything—furnishes a full reply in itself, or an admirable backing to an objection or excuse—accounts for the most protracted delay in any kind of business under the sun—is an answer to every question, and the only answer to some questions. All committee-rooms echo with it—all council chambers resound with it. It is a sentence, in short, which should be engraved upon the threshold of all government offices and the seats of all government officials, in order that, should the latter be absent, and the former closed, the anxious applicant need not call again for the answer he will most assuredly receive.

But the more closely we examine the full bearing and import of this combination of words, the more admirable it must appear to us. An individual inquires, “How is my business going on?” and I, an official, somewhere or other, reply, “It is under consideration.” “Under consideration!” Observe the satisfactory ambiguousness of the words. Had I said “under my consideration,” or “under any one’s consideration,” I should have reduced it at once to the value of the unit; but now not only am I included, but everybody else who works with me; the entire body of which I am a member are clearly designated. There is nothing whatever to prevent your imagining the heads of government engaged in the matter; the applicant, if a novice, of course concludes it at once to be so, and pictures to himself the whole administration engrossed by his memorial, employed upon the means of redressing his grievance or granting his petition. What can satisfy him if he be not content with every wheel of government turning for him, and for him alone?

“Under consideration.” You are not left a word to say; objection you can make none. Had you been told, “It has been considered,” you might naturally have asked, “What was the decision?” Or had it been said, “It will be considered,” you might request, with all due humility, to be informed at what period it was thought possible it might come to your turn to engage the attention of the body to whom your business has been submitted. But it is quite another matter now. The words are, “It is under consideration;” that is to say, at this very moment every effort is being made to do you full justice, every energy is put forth, every nerve strung in your behalf: the attention of every one is riveted upon you, and you alone. What more would you have? You stand, with open mouth, completely arrested, fixed to the spot by

this answer, unable to articulate more at the very utmost than an “Ah!”—a little prolonged it may be—and you can but bow politely and retire, as fully satisfied as your temperament or knowledge of the intrinsic value of the words permit you to be.

“Under consideration.” You may have these words repeated to you for twenty years successively; but with what show of reason can you complain of the cool, cautious, deliberate inquiry into every circumstance of your case, or of the length of time employed in the investigation of your business? What is it you want? That it should “be considered.” Well, and have you not been told that this is precisely what is doing? You have absolutely nothing left to say. If not completed sooner, it is because it is impossible to proceed more rapidly in doing the thing well. Surely you would not have it slurred over? And you cannot, in conscience, require that your case should be considered oftener than *always*.

Most valuable phrase! What tiresome circumlocutions, what troublesome explanations, what framing of excuses, are spared by it to authorities in general! Officials may slumber as sweetly on these few words as in an easy-chair. The phrase is the very ottoman of power, the downy pillow of bureaucracy, whence it may meet every proposal of amelioration, every expectation of improvement, every desire for a new order of things by a few words—the true talisman of *statu quo*—“It is under consideration.”

And now that it has been itself “under consideration,” who will not thank me for having made this feeble effort to hold up a phrase playing so important a part in parliamentary proceedings to the enthusiastic admiration and gratitude of those who make use of it? I write not for the ingrates who are unreasonable enough to feel indignation at its being addressed to themselves.

WESTERN COAST OF IRELAND.—A gentleman, as my informer told me, commiserating the condition of the people, who patiently endured the pangs of hunger, when the sea before them teemed with wholesome and delicious food, purchased a boat for the purpose of making an experiment. He invited some of the most destitute among them to accompany him to the fishing, promising, in return for their share of the labor, to give them a due share of what they caught. They refused to labor without wages; and after in vain endeavoring to make them comprehend that his offer was much better than the ordinary rate of payment, he added to the chance of the fishing, a day’s wages. On this they consented. The fishing was completely successful; and, in addition to supplying their families with abundance of excellent food, they made some money by selling what remained. This was all their benefactor wanted. His experiment had succeeded; for it had convinced the people that they were able, by their own industry, to make a comfortable and independent subsistence. “I lend you my boat,” said he, “till you are able to purchase one for yourselves. Go, and make a good use of it. Be industrious, and be happy.” “*But the day’s wages?*” cried they. The day’s wages! Argument was vain. They demanded a day’s wages, as before, and would not stir without. Their benefactor gave up his attempt in shame and sorrow, and the unhappy savages returned to their hunger and their despair.—*Chambers’ Journal*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Paris, 16th November, 1848.

La Revue des Deux Mondes for the 15th inst. was issued yesterday. In the evening, I found leisure to look through it and marked various passages for use next week. The first article, on the *Revolution in Eastern Europe*, is richly instructive on the concerns and topics of the day, in which the Illyrians, Jellachich and Austria are so prominent. See the account which I send you of the Corypheus of the Hungarian struggle. An article is devoted to the Memoirs of Mde. de Maintenon, by the Duke de Noailles, heretofore mentioned in the *Living Age*. The work is warmly commended, as it deserves, for matter, style, tone, and general texture and coloring. Coquerel's *History of the Protestant Churches in the Desert* is cursorily and favorably noticed. The reviewer dwells on the new exposition of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which nearly fills the second volume of the Duke de Noailles', and possesses original historical value. The third article is a sensible survey of the book of M. Thiers on *Property*, of which, happily, the greater portion would be deemed quite rudimental and unnecessary in the United States. The masses in Europe are at your alphabet only. Several pages of the *Political Chronicle* of this number of the *Revue* are worth translation; they exhibit French affairs under impressive points of survey; regret is expressed that some of the chiefs and journals of the moderate party have raised the standard of Louis Napoleon; it condemns the too common calculation that he will extinguish the republic, and thus be the instrument, destroying himself at the same time, of the final restoration of monarchy. The chronicler supposes that Cavaignac might yet arrange with Thiers and the moderate associations terms such as would engage them on his side; but they have, within the few days past, gone too far for any compromise.

The journals of this morning furnish an important circular signed by a bishop, a member of the National Assembly, in the name of his clerical colleagues advising all the Catholic hierarchy and priesthood to adopt *Cavaignac* as the best choice for the cause of religion and order. It is probable that the circular was sanctioned by the Archbishop of Paris. The editors opposed to the general sharply reprimand the prelates for interfering thus in the "presidential question," and exhort the curates throughout the interior to think and act for themselves. It is difficult to say which party, the extreme democrats or the ex-monarchists, draw the gloomiest picture of French affairs; you could infer that not one of the public ills under the demolished government has been in the least mitigated, and that many new wrongs and grievances, incalculably worse, afflict and exasperate the country. In July last, the National Assembly appropriated three millions of francs to the purpose of assisting with capital, associations of workmen meriting a certain degree of reliance. Yesterday

afternoon, the minister charged with the distribution, reported to the house that he had lent fourteen hundred thousand francs, to thirty-four associations, all that he could deem of good promise, out of four hundred and forty several applications. The Assembly remitted all legal charges on the loan transactions, but voted that five per cent. should be required on all sums lent above twenty-five thousand francs—upon the ground that individual enterprises should not be subjected to disadvantages, this being the market rate for them. *Socialism* aims at the suppression of all private and individual competition by means of large and endless associations. At the sitting of the day before, one occurrence produced a lively sensation. The provisional government, as I informed you, abolished at once five chairs in the College of France, and the chief of them, that of political economy filled by Professor Chevalier, who was particularly obnoxious to the socialists and the republicans of the old school. The reestablishment of the chairs was manfully proposed and advocated; highly animated and exciting speeches followed on the utility and substantiality, pro and con, of political economy as a science. A vote in the affirmative confessed and rectified the injustice done to the chair and to Professor Chevalier, who has employed the interval in assailing socialism and expounding true republicanism, in the *Journal des Débats*. His enemies are doubly vexed that he should now have the opportunity, which he will indefatigably improve, of prosecuting the warfare from so eligible a position as the College of France. The disciples of Jean Baptiste Say, and the contributors to the able *Journal des Economistes*, rejoice exceedingly. The country is reminded that, in 1839, M. Chassériau, historiographer of the department of the navy, vindicated, for a French political economist, Gracian, born at Tours in 1727, the priority of the theory of the wealth of nations, which Adam Smith developed with the éclat of profound genius.

The new constitution provides a high court of national justice for impeachments of the president of the republic and the ministers, and the trial of all cases of plots and other crimes against the internal or external safety of the state. The number of judges is five, with two substitutes, and thirty-six jurymen, taken from the councils general of the departments. Yesterday, the Court of Cassation, upon whom the choice of the judges is devolved, appointed the five—all sound and eminent jurists and men of independent spirit.

Monsieur Cabet, the oracle of communism and exporter of *Icarians* to Texas, has just been sentenced by a criminal court to a fine and a month's imprisonment, for having at his domicile, on the 15th May last, when the National Assembly was invaded by the mob, a quantity of arms and ammunition, which the patrols detected and seized in the night. He argued his own case, and took occasion to expound his doctrines in lengthy details. The court was exceedingly crowded; many

Icarians condoled with the father at the end of the trial.

Looking to foreign affairs, we are intent on the struggle between the King of Prussia and the Assembly at Berlin, where martial law has been decreed in the most rigorous and comprehensive text. That city is the focus of German anarchical philosophy and action; the most intense jacobinism in the world is believed to reign there; it is the rendezvous of the extreme democrats of the whole empire; the congress was composed of delegates from all the clubs, and the minorities of all the national assemblies. Rhenish Prussia, and most of the manufacturing towns and centres, are deeply imbued with *communism*, and ripe for every kind of disorder and excess. Serious, if not protracted, conflicts must ensue, and resentments long fester, whatever the proximate issue. Let it be understood, by the way, that European democracy is not akin to the American; that the latter is in no manner or measure responsible for either its theory or practice.

It was with difficulty that the Assembly, after a call of the house, rallied a quorum yesterday. Towards the evening, votes on important questions, sufficiently discussed, could not be taken, owing to the retreat of a number of members. Those who have gone to the provinces to electioneer for Cavaignac, report that the canvass for him promises more than was presumed; he certainly regains ground in Paris; the idea of the success of Louis Napoleon inspires a common alarm among the amateurs of quiet; not a few have already engaged lodgings in the country, to which they will immediately repair, in that event. The peasantry wonder that the National Assembly have not yet elected a king, and, when spoken to about their votes, remark, that they ought to prefer the nephew of their emperor. The sentiment which prompts them and the army will suffice to invest him with the title and power of his uncle. Your American game of politics and elections portends no real danger to institutions and national welfare; in this country, all over the continent, it threatens everything and the principal agents on what side soever. Our court of assizes continues to fine and imprison conductors and writers of the radical sheets, for articles violating the laws of the press; the courts martial pass, still, the severest sentences on the heroes of the barricades. It is rather fortunate that the revolutionary combinations and the zealots of socialism betray themselves as they do in their speeches and toasts at their numerous banquets and in the columns of their audacious journals. They celebrate the old reign of terror; worship the names and deeds of Robespierre and Marat; couple the God-head and the Redeemer with those monsters, and the worst to be culled from antiquity; anticipate a universal, so called, equality by universal spoliation, and final *communism*, to be achieved by desperate violence. Dread and horror seize the population, in town and country, who happen to be proprietors, and to lay stress on secure possession and tranquil enjoyment, on family ties, old law and social or-

der, and the prescriptive maxims and habits of religion, morality, and decorum. More suicides are recorded than since the revolution of 1790.

We have a new comic opera, in three acts; words by St. George, music by Halévy, the author of *La Juive*. It begot raptures at the first representation, and has filled the theatre every night. The critics pronounce it a chef d'œuvre in every respect. Berlioz observes—"This brilliant work is enough for the glory of any composer, and the fortune of any theatre." Twenty thousand copies have been sold of the three volumes of *Jerome Paturot in search of the Best of Republics*—a burlesque of the whole French republican enterprise. A translation, or paraphrase, of *Macbeth*, assisted by excellent scenic devices, draws crowds to the Odeon—the theatre of the Faubourg Saint Germain and the schools. It is decided in the *feuilletons* that the French drama approaches near to the original in all merits, and no one needs now to visit London in order to see Shakespeare's masterpiece. There are five acts in verse, eleven tableaux, and witches and ghosts are put in high relief. Macduff expires along with Macbeth. The versifier, Deschamps, remarks that he has merely *echenillé* Shakspeare, that is, cleared away the caterpillars. Legouvé, who lectures at the College of France, has published a goodly octavo, of which the purport is the present condition of French women, according to laws and manners, and compared with what it was of yore, and what it might be rendered. He represents the weaker sex as the greatest sufferers in the poorer classes, and, on the whole, the most unhappy in the rich and fashionable. He regards the theory of "a perfectly free woman as the worst possible," adding, "I would rather see her in the subjection which she now endures, than licensed without limits." The *Théâtre Français* has its magnetic and lucrative *novelty* in a comedy of five acts, entitled, *La Vieillesse de Richelieu*, the old age of the duke so famous for his military prowess and amatory exploits in French memoirs. A critic in the *Moniteur Universel* justly describes it in these terms: "The piece is so indecent that, examined in its plot and text simply, it would seem utterly inadmissible for the stage. No one now pretends that our theatre is a school of morality; but if our comedy will not help morals, it might at least remain neutral and not tend to destroy them." Voltaire's celebrated castle, *Ferney*, has been sold to a rich jeweller of Paris. He has restored the poet's furniture to the rooms, and authorizes the sale of tickets of admission, of which the proceeds are destined for the poor of the neighborhood. The French savants occupy themselves much with applications of science to practical benefits. M. de Quatrefages has conceived and explained means of doubling or tripling the quantity of fishes in the ponds and rivers, and in the seas near the coasts. The processes are not difficult nor uncertain. He dilates on the abundance of *azote* (nutrition) in fish diet. The Academy of Sciences has approved in form the *ebullioscope*, an instrument to determine

the quantity of alcohol in wines and all the spirituous beverages. It detects all falsifications of the liquors, and is of easy use in any hands with common intelligence.

The library of the Arsenal has lost its oldest and most famous functionary—M. Rigollet, aged ninety-two. He served in it fifty-two years successively, and was called the *Living Catalogue*. He could put his hand immediately on any one of the two hundred thousand volumes. He endeared himself to his colleagues and all the frequenters of the institution, by constant good-humor, and the utmost alacrity in furnishing any book and any literary information requested.

Leverrier opened his course of astronomy at the Sorbonne, on the 13th inst. His class was very large. He stated it to be his purpose to exhibit, not the present situation of astronomical science, but the difficulties of the study, daily increasing from the very progress; and to teach how they might be overcome. He added some fine remarks on the singular constellations—the *nebulae*, the millions and billions of clustered stars, of which the naked eye can give scarcely an idea. Sir John Herschel, in a paper read before the Royal Society of London, assigns the places of two thousand five hundred *nebulae* and clusters of stars; of which five hundred were discovered from the time of Sir William. Much is expected from the *Mécanique Céleste* of Leverrier. He lectures *con amore* and with a superior elocution.

The toll at the Paris gates, on sugar, has been abolished, as too injurious to the venders and manufacturers within; they were undersold at establishments outside. A hundred millions of pounds are introduced annually, of which the domestic consumption is supposed to be twenty-four. The rest is sent back to the provinces or abroad, by the refiners, confectioners, and so forth.

The nine hundred members of the National Assembly cost the treasury seven hundred and twelve thousand five hundred francs per month. On Saturday last, when the question of granting leave of absence to scores of members was on the tapis, it was suggested that the *per diem* of those who absented themselves should be suspended. The President of the Assembly exclaimed—"That proposition would be contrary to the constitution." This might be questioned. The president—a votary of General Cavaignac—was anxious to gratify all applications, because they were made chiefly by members whose errand it is to serve the general in their districts. Although a motion for a prorogation was rejected by a very large majority, the defection in this way is such that a quorum scarcely remains. It will be necessary to reduce the stated quorum in order to continue the transaction of business.

A block of red porphyry has been received from Russia, at Havre, for the slab or cover of the tomb of Napoleon. It weighs ninety thousand pounds. When the French capital, by its example and doctrines, breaks up social and political order elsewhere in Europe, it stops or greatly lessens the

demand for its fabrics of luxury, upon which it mainly depends; it impoverishes and doubly endangers itself. We may be struck with the following London paragraph:

The resources of continental consumers, though positively diminished in amount, will probably be expended more largely than before in the purchase of British goods, because, these being produced where capital and labor work in security, they will be produced more abundantly and cheaply than the same or similar articles can now be produced on the continent. If German and French manufacturers do not buy our yarns, their customers must, before long, come to us for the manufactured goods. Thus we shall probably find our exports more profitable than before, in proportion to their gross value, as including more labor and less raw material.

Cavaignac remarked, in one of his speeches, to the old dynastic opposition, "I respect your intentions, but I distrust your instincts." They now retort this phrase, in allusion to his democratic predilections. But in his recent circular, or manifesto, as candidate for the presidency, he pledges himself to the cause of order and law, in terms which might fully satisfy the friends of that primary national interest.

Mademoiselle George still keeps the stage in deep tragic characters, such as Lucretia Borgia. She must be between sixty and seventy years of age. I witnessed her admirable performances in 1808, when she was at the head of tragedy, and the handsomest of the Paris actresses. Her person has grown unwieldy, and her ranting could be borne only by a French audience.

Some time ago, a congress of the provincial press was held at Tours. Thirty-nine editors, Orleanists, legitimists, moderate republicans, composed it. The professed object was "to procure for the provinces their proper share of political action and influence," and "to maintain the independence of the government chosen by the nation, against the pretensions and factions of the capital." To these ends, they pledged themselves unanimously; on separating, they agreed to cry, not *Vive la République*, but *Vive la France*. They established a permanent committee, who met in Paris, last week, and have just issued an address, in relation to the presidency of the republic, wherein they utterly repudiate General Cavaignac, and formally adopt Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. That able journal, *le Constitutionnel*, the organ of M. Thiers and of an influential party, has done the same, while the *Journal des Débats* protests, prefers Cavaignac, and reasons more plausibly than its monarchical contemporary. The *montagnards* have proclaimed Ledru-Rollin; the exclusive socialists, Raspail, the druggist, a prisoner for treason, at Vincennes. Lamartine announces, again, that he cannot hesitate to serve if elected. Marshal Bugeaud and the other Algerian generals decline.

Some dealers in *leeches* were heavily fined last week, for selling them gorged. They admitted the fact, but added that all the other venders did

the same. The purveyors of milk plead that they put no more water in their pails than the universal custom warrants.

In the popular drama of Napoleon and Josephine, four acts are made up by her supplications against a divorce, and his extreme distress, tender sensibility, and reluctant hearing of his less scrupulous retinue of politicians. He is admirably mimicked by the actor who personates him, in every detail.

A few weeks ago, Lamartine, complaining to a French acquaintance of mine, of an importunate visitor, said, "He is of transatlantic stupidity." This should be known to transatlantic gentlemen who write him adulatory letters of which they forget the postage. Formerly, the American consul was heavily taxed for such addresses to the members of the royal family.

This morning (14th Nov.) I counted at one newspaper stall, thirteen new penny journals; the title of one is the *Viper's Tongue*, and, doubtless, the venom of the contents suits the title. The first pages of the article of the Edinburgh Review on Walpole's Letters to the Countess of Ossory treat of the distinction due to men of letters, and of the position and power of journalists—a very interesting theme; the article comprises much entertainment. If journalists could but regard themselves as refined gentlemen and true patriots in the largest sense, and write accordingly, they would finally—even in Great Britain—attain social rank with the highest classes. The very cheap newspaper press, and the frequent exciting elections, do not favor this advancement. The disquisitions of the Edinburgh Review on the State of Europe, though worthy to be read, are inferior to those of the London Quarterly. It was Gibbon, I think, who remarked—"The romance of Tom Jones, that exquisite picture of human manners, will outlive the palace of the escurial, and the imperial eagle of the house of Austria." As "times go," the fulfilment of this prediction seems much nearer than he could have imagined it to be. The house of Austria, however, is proverbially lucky; its military strength is scarcely diminished.

The two most potent of the new anarchical journals are the *Peuple*, by Proudhon, who stands at the head of the fanatical visionaries and disorganizers; the price is five dollars per annum; the other is entitled the *Democratic and Social Revolution*, and issues from a numerous association who have specially undertaken *propagandism*; the subscription is three dollars.

A congress of the "Democratic Press" has just terminated its session in this capital. Fifty journals were represented. They solemnly protest against "the federalist and counter revolutionary tendencies" of the congress of the departmental press, and adhere to the nomination of Ledru-Rollin. Some of the organs of the moderate party twit M. Lamartine with having abandoned the discussion of the constitution in the Assembly after his two ambitious harangues, one of which gave the finishing blow to the vital project of a

senate. Under pretext of mending his health, he repaired to his own province, in order to deliver there speeches and replies to addresses, which might help him as a candidate for the office of president. There remained to be settled various principles and provisions of the constitution, of the utmost importance. It was not officially announced that the affirmative final vote on the constitution was to be signalized by a discharge of cannon. The subject was not at all in the minds of the world out of the Assembly. My family and myself, like most of the inhabitants at home or abroad, were startled by the roar, and imagined an insurrection in some quarter. Under the same fear, the boulevards soon became crowded with inquirers. The next day, a few of the journalists affirmed that the silence of the government was intentional; a scheme to ascertain whether the faubourgs were disposed to break out anew by sympathy with a supposed commotion. In fact, the *Moniteur* informed us that a number of instigators tried in vain to excite the faubourgs by the tale that the military authorities were firing on a *socialist banquet*; most of them were arrested. It is affirmed in the anarchical and other malcontent journals that, at the grand ceremonial of the promulgation of the constitution on Sunday last, the laboring classes absented themselves, and that the concourse, besides the official and military, was not large. This is untrue. I was in the middle of the *Place de Concorde*, between 10 and 11, and even then the throng was immense. Notwithstanding the extreme inclemency of the weather, the troops and the national guards appeared in full numbers and equipment before nine o'clock. From that hour until four o'clock, we saw, under us, from our windows on the *Rue de Rivoli*, an unrelenting stream of passengers to the magnificent show; one half at least consisted of the working men. I remarked several times to the persons near me that, since March, such a multitude of *blouses* had not been witnessed on any one day in the streets, for a peaceable purpose.

THE CHIEF OF THE HUNGARIANS.

[Translated from *La Revue des Deux Mondes*.]

Kossuth, by extolling the generous feelings of his countrymen, knew better than any other person how to quicken their resolves and make them pronounce this dreaded word of civil wars, *Alea jacta est*. Kossuth reached slowly the reputation of eloquence and energy which even his enemies allowed him to possess. His first years of public life were toilsome; he was a poor lawyer twelve years ago, occupied by some deputies to execute the business confided to them by the committees, and carrying on the correspondence that such business rendered necessary. Some magnates, who appreciated his intelligence and activity, availed themselves of those advantages in order to establish a journal of the sitting of the diet. At this period, all the publicity of the business of the diet was confined to some bulletins of ten lines which appeared in the censured journals and contained an abstract of its labors. Kossuth gladly undertook this affair. He organized a

service of young writers or scribes *des comitats*, and thus rendered an exact and complete account of the sittings. The Austrian government caused this journal to be seized. The mode of printing by lithography, said he, as well as the produce of the press, was brought under the subjection of the law of censure. Kossuth and his patrons were not discouraged; they increased the number of writers and transcribers, and the journal continued to appear in manuscript. After the session, Kossuth did not suspend his journal; in lieu of the speeches of the diet, he published the debates of the committees. In those private meetings and in those provincial diets, less controlled by public authority, the most vehement speeches were delivered; they fearlessly urged separation from Austria, and breathed of a republic. Kossuth was arrested and imprisoned for the publication of one of those speeches. Two or three years passed away, the authorities not daring to bring him to trial. He recovered his liberty at the time of one of those amnesties which the Austrian government willingly grant at the close of the diets, in order to terminate old disputes. Kossuth shortly after entered the assembly of the states; he there brought talent, previously tried in some inferior occupations only, and keen hostility against the government. The opposition sought and succeeded, at this epoch, in obtaining a good understanding, by means of the palatin, with the Austrian chancery. He was dreaded by the House of Magnates, and kept at a distance; however, his talent gained him advancement. He was in the second chamber considered in the first rank among the chiefs of opposition. In consequence of his slow elevation he was not worn out like Synéchény, like Bathiany, like Deak himself, when the revolution of March broke out. He boldly seized the staff of power, and he displayed then, besides an eloquence of which his countrymen speak with admiration, an energy and activity which would doubtless merit to have sooner met a better employment. Kossuth did not resemble the Hungarian liberals, always animated by chivalrous sentiments, and a little aristocratic, as we have been accustomed to see; he is a radical of the new revolutionary school, ready for all extremes, and will endeavor to rid himself of nobility when he shall be quit of Austria. Already he signified to the Chamber of Magnates that their position was only provisional and tolerated; and that they would be reformed by the sovereign assembly, and, without doubt, reduced to a kind of council of state. It was he who stopped the liberal movement of Hungary, in order to accomplish a revolutionary and domineering one. It is he who, in order to realize the projects of universal equality, more chimerical in Hungary than anywhere else, did not fear to overturn all the political and social state of his country. We know this race of men, and we do not require any long exposition to understand them. Those desires of vengeance, inspired perhaps, but not justified, by the prosecutions and condemnations which he underwent, are concealed in the heart of Kossuth, by a warm and exclusive patriotism, leaving nothing to authorize a suspicion of sincerity. In this latter respect, at least, he represents the qualities and the defects of Magyarism, and he, doubtless, draws hence a part of the wonderful ascendancy which he exercises at this moment over his countrymen. Kossuth was firmly resolved at this period to break with the Austrian government; his character, not less than the march of events, pushed him to this end. In speaking of regiments to send into Italy,

he only sought to take advantage of the name and sanction of the emperor, in order to raise some troops and levy the contributions in his power, ready for all events, even war against Austria. He betrayed even his inward thought, when some patriots, not in his secrets, loudly demanded the recall of the Hungarian regiments, which were then stationed in Lombardy. "But reflect then," cried Kossuth, "that you will rather recall Croats than Magyars. Is that what you wish?" The measures proposed by the energetic tribune were completed by a decree authorizing the emission of two hundred millions of paper money. Here, really, commences the opposition and the struggle between the government at Vienna and the Hungarian minister.

NEW BOOKS AND REPRINTS.

Reflections on Revelations. By PETER CLARKIN. G. C. Rand & Co., Boston.

THIS volume is a commentary upon and interpretation of the Book of Revelations, chapter by chapter. It appears to be written in an earnest spirit—and a short autobiography of the author shows that his desire for study and improvement has carried him forward against many adverse circumstances.

Memoirs of a Physician. By ALEXANDRE DUMAS. Stringer & Townsend.

A LARGE octavo volume for one dollar. There are many illustrations copied from the graceful French designs.

History of the Hawaiian Islands: embracing their antiquities, mythology, legends; discovery by Europeans in the sixteenth century, re-discovery by Cook, with their civil, religious, and political history from the earliest traditional period to the present time. By JAMES JACKSON JARVES. Third Edition. Honolulu. For sale in Boston by all the booksellers.

THIS is a very important book. It was printed at the government press, Honolulu, and will advantageously compare with books printed here. The great interest which the people of the United States have for many years had in these islands, as the resort for their whale-fishers, and as the most conspicuous instance in modern missionary history of the introduction and establishment of Christianity in a heathen country, has now grown a thousand fold by our advance to the Pacific, and the multiplied social and political relations which are about to grow up between us and these new brethren. Mr. Jarves has had great advantages of position, and seems to have been a diligent and impartial examiner. Some early prejudices he had to relinquish. We are almost ashamed to confess the same to have been our own case. So much was said to have been done by the missionaries, that we wanted faith. But they were seen of their Father in heaven, and have their reward. We write with affectionate and reverential recollection of our friend, the Rev. Hiram Bingham.

The Clergyman's Widow, The Officer's Widow, The Merchant's Widow. By Mrs. HOFFLAND. 3 vols. Francis & Co.'s Little Library. New York: C. S. Francis & Co.

THE trials and endurance of piety are well illustrated in these instructive stories, and many an admirable lesson may be learned by persons similarly tried. The simple style and high moral sentiment of these stories, make them among the most excellent that can be placed in the hands of children.

176

TO THE BINDER.—Title Page and Contents of Vol. XIX., in the middle of this number.

CONTENTS OF No. 241.

1. The State of Europe,	- - - - -	<i>Edinburgh Review,</i>	- - - - -	577
2. Blowing Past,	- - - - -	<i>Chambers' Journal,</i>	- - - - -	596
3. Crape Shawls,	- - - - -	<i>Scientific American,</i>	- - - - -	598
4. Quebec,	- - - - -	<i>Sharpe's Magazine,</i>	- - - - -	599
5. American Genius in England,	- - - - -	<i>Hunt's Merchant's Magazine,</i>	- - - - -	604
6. Good in Everything,	- - - - -	<i>Spectator,</i>	- - - - -	608
7. Liebig on the Vital Forces,	- - - - -	<i>Chambers' Journal,</i>	- - - - -	609
8. Poems, by O. W. Holmes,	- - - - -	<i>New York Albion,</i>	- - - - -	612
9. European Correspondence	- - - - -	<i>Of the Living Age,</i>	- - - - -	615

SHORT ARTICLES.—Holmes' Poems, 598.—Your Business is under Consideration; West Coast of Ireland, 614.—New Books, 619.

"PROSPECTUS."—This work is conducted in the spirit of Littell's Museum of Foreign Literature, (which was favorably received by the public for twenty years,) but as it is twice as large, and appears so often, we not only give spirit and freshness to it by many things which were excluded by a month's delay, but while thus extending our scope and gathering a greater and more attractive variety, are able so to increase the solid and substantial part of our literary, historical, and political harvest, as fully to satisfy the wants of the American reader.

The elaborate and stately Essays of the *Edinburgh Quarterly*, and other Reviews; and *Blackwood's* noble criticisms on Poetry, his keen political Commentaries, highly wrought Tales, and vivid descriptions of rural and mountain Scenery; and the contributions to Literature, History, and Common Life, by the sagacious *Spectator*, the sparkling *Examiner*, the judicious *Athenæum*, the busy and industrious *Literary Gazette*, the sensible and comprehensive *Britannia*, the sober and respectable *Christian Observer*; these are intermixed with the Military and Naval reminiscences of the *United Service*, and with the best articles of the *Dublin University*, *New Monthly*, *Fraser's*, *Tail's*, *Ainsworth's*, *Hood's*, and *Sporting Magazine*, and of *Chambers' admirable Journal*. We do not consider it beneath our dignity to borrow wit and wisdom from *Punch*; and, when we think it good enough, make use of the thunder of *The Times*. We shall increase our variety by importations from the continent of Europe, and from the new growth of the British colonies.

The steamship has brought Europe, Asia, and Africa, into our neighborhood; and will greatly multiply our connections, as Merchants, Travellers, and Politicians, with all parts of the world; so that much more than ever it

now becomes every intelligent American to be informed of the condition and changes of foreign countries. And this not only because of their nearer connection with ourselves, but because the nations seem to be hastening, through a rapid process of change, to some new state of things, which the merely political prophet cannot compute or foresee.

Geographical Discoveries, the progress of Colonization, (which is extending over the whole world,) and Voyages and Travels, will be favorite matter for our selections; and, in general, we shall systematically and very ully acquaint our readers with the great department of Foreign affairs, without entirely neglecting our own.

While we aspire to make the *Living Age* desirable to all who wish to keep themselves informed of the rapid progress of the movement—to Statesmen, Divines, Lawyers, and Physicians—to men of business and men of leisure—it is still a stronger object to make it attractive and useful to their Wives and Children. We believe that we can thus do some good in our day and generation; and hope to make the work indispensable in every well-informed family. We say *indispensable*, because in this day of cheap literature it is not possible to guard against the influx of what is bad in taste and vicious in morals, in any other way than by furnishing a sufficient supply of a healthy character. The mental and moral appetite must be gratified.

We hope that, by "*winnowing the wheat from the chaff*" by providing abundantly for the imagination, and by a large collection of Biography, Voyages and Travels, History, and more solid matter, we may produce a work which shall be popular, while at the same time it will aspire to raise the standard of public taste.

TERMS.—The *LIVING AGE* is published every Saturday, by E. LITTELL & Co., corner of Tremont and Bromfield sts., Boston; Price 12½ cents a number, or six dollars a year in advance. Remittances for any period will be thankfully received and promptly attended to. To insure regularity in mailing the work, orders should be addressed to the office of publication, as above.

Clubs, paying a year in advance, will be supplied as follows:—

Four copies for	\$20 00
Nine " "	\$40 00
Twelve " "	\$50 00

Complete sets, in fifteen volumes, to the end of 1847, handsomely bound, and packed in neat boxes, are for sale at thirty dollars.

Any volume may be had separately at two dollars, bound, or a dollar and a half in numbers.

Any number may be had for 12½ cents; and it may be worth while for subscribers or purchasers to complete any broken volumes they may have, and thus greatly enhance their value.

Binding.—We bind the work in a uniform, strong, and good style; and where customers bring their numbers in good order, can generally give them bound volumes in exchange without any delay. The price of the binding is 50 cents a volume. As they are always bound to one pattern, there will be no difficulty in matching the future volumes.

Agencies.—We are desirous of making arrangements in all parts of North America, for increasing the circulation of this work—and for doing this a liberal commission will be allowed to gentlemen who will interest themselves in the business. And we will gladly correspond on this subject with any agent who will send us undoubted references.

Postage.—When sent with the cover on, the *Living Age* consists of three sheets, and is rated as a pamphlet, at 4½ cents. But when sent without the cover, it comes within the definition of a newspaper given in the law, and cannot legally be charged with more than newspaper postage, (14 cts.) We add the definition alluded to:—

A newspaper is "any printed publication, issued in numbers, consisting of not more than two sheets, and published at short, stated intervals of not more than one month, conveying intelligence of passing events."

Monthly parts.—For such as prefer it in that form, the *Living Age* is put up in monthly parts, containing four or five weekly numbers. In this shape it shows to great advantage in comparison with other works, containing in each part double the matter of any of the quarterlies. But we recommend the weekly numbers, as fresher and fuller of life. Postage on the monthly parts is about 14 cents. The volumes are published quarterly, each volume containing as much matter as a quarterly review gives in eighteen months.

WASHINGTON, 27 DEC., 1845.

Of all the Periodical Journals devoted to literature and science which abound in Europe and in this country, this has appeared to me to be the most useful. It contains indeed the exposition only of the current literature of the English language, but this by its immense extent and comprehension includes a portraiture of the human mind in the utmost expansion of the present age.

J. Q. ADAMS.

HUNT'S MERCHANTS' MAGAZINE AND COMMERCIAL REVIEW.

Established July, 1839,

BY FREEMAN HUNT, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR
PUBLISHED MONTHLY,

At 142 Fulton-street, New York—at Five Dollars per annum, in advance.

The "MERCHANTS' MAGAZINE AND COMMERCIAL REVIEW" will continue to include in its design every subject connected with COMMERCE, MANUFACTURES, AND POLITICAL ECONOMY, as—COMMERCIAL LEGISLATION, COMMERCIAL HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY; MERCANTILE BIOGRAPHY; ESSAYS from the ablest pens on the leading topics of the day, relating to COMMERCIAL AFFAIRS; DESCRIPTIVE, STATISTICAL, AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS OF THE VARIOUS COMMODITIES WHICH FORM THE SUBJECT OF MERCANTILE TRANSACTIONS; PORT CHARGES; TARIFFS; CUSTOMS AND COMMERCIAL REGULATIONS; TREATIES; COMMERCIAL STATISTICS OF THE UNITED STATES, and the different countries of the world, with which we have intercourse, including their PHYSICAL CHARACTER, POPULATION, PRODUCTIONS, EXPORTS, IMPORTS, SEAPORTS, MONETARY, WEIGHTS, MEASURES, FINANCE AND BANKING ASSOCIATIONS;—ENTERPRISES connected with COMMERCE, embracing FERRIERES, INCORPORATED COMPANIES, RAILROADS, CANALS, STEAMBOATS, DOCKS, POST OFFICES, &c.; PRINCIPLES OF COMMERCE, FINANCE AND BANKING, WITH PRACTICAL AND HISTORICAL DETAILS AND ILLUSTRATIONS; COMMERCIAL LAW AND MERCANTILE LAW REPORTS, AND DECISIONS OF COURTS IN THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE, including INSURANCE, PARTNERSHIP, PRINCIPAL AND AGENT, BILLS OF EXCHANGE, SALE, GUARANTEE, BANKRUPTCY, SHIPPING AND NAVIGATION, &c., and whatever else shall tend to develop the resources of the country and the world, and illustrate the various topics bearing upon COMMERCE AND COMMERCIAL LITERATURE; and we may venture to say that no work heretofore published, embraces in its pages so large an amount of information on all these subjects, as the nineteen volumes now completed.

Our means of enhancing the value of "THE MERCHANTS' MAGAZINE AND COMMERCIAL REVIEW," are constantly increasing; and, with new sources of information, an extending correspondence abroad, and other facilities, which nearly ten years' devotion to a single object have enabled us to make available, we shall be able to render the work a perfect *condo magnum* for the Merchant, Navigator, and Manufacturer, as well as to the Statesman, Commercial Lawyer, and Political Economist, and, indeed, all who desire information on the multifarious operations of business life.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS ADDRESSED TO THE EDITOR.

From Hon. Samuel R. Seitz, U. S. District Judge for the Southern District of New York.

"I have received the Merchants' Magazine since its establishment, and regard it as one of the most valuable publications of the day. As a Register of Facts connected with Political Economy and Industrial Interests, Commercial, Agricultural, and Manufacturing, it is, in my judgment, not equalled by any work of its size and cost, in fullness and accuracy; and its collection of Cases and Doctrines in relation to Maritime Law, will be found highly useful to professional men—often furnishing American and English cases of great value, which are not to be found in any other publication. I most cheerfully recommend the work as useful in a high degree, to all professions studying the current history of the times."

From Hon. Henry Clay, Ashland, Kentucky.

"I have long known the great merits of your Magazine, the most useful and valuable of all the publications known to me, published in the United States."

From the Hon. Levi Woodbury, one of the Justices of the United States Court.

"I have heretofore read most of the numbers of the Merchants' Magazine with much satisfaction and advantage. It is exceedingly useful to the politician and scholar, as well as those engaged in commercial pursuits, to have the useful statistical information with which it abounds, collected together and presented for their perusal seasonably."

From Hon. John Macpherson Berrien, Senator of the United States from Georgia.

"I have been, for some time past, in possession of the several volumes and numbers of the Merchants' Magazine, and in the habit of referring to it. I can therefore unhesitatingly say, that I consider it a very valuable addition to the library of the statesman, as well as the merchant, and express, as I do cordially, the hope that its publication may be continued with increased benefit to yourself, as I feel assured it will be with advantage to the public."

From the Hon. Washington Hunt, Member of Congress from New York.

"I am gratified to learn from your letter that your valuable Magazine continues to receive a liberal support from the public. I have long considered it one of the most useful publications in the country. Indeed it may be regarded as indispensable, not only to the statesman but to all who wish to be well-informed respecting the commerce of the world, and the rapid growth and vast importance of our own commercial interests. A work of so much interest and usefulness ought to have a place in every school district library in the United States. I wish by some such means it might be brought within the reach of every intelligent man in the country. I am convinced that it has done much to liberalize and nationalize the public mind, and I hope your circulation may continue to increase, until the patronage of the work shall be equal to its merits."

From the Hon. Edmund Burke, Commissioner of Patents.

"When it first commenced I thought its contents presented a rich treat, but from that time to the present it has continued to improve in the variety, excellence, and value of the intellectual repast it has monthly presented to its readers. Although professedly devoted to the interests of that enterprising and enlightened class of our countrymen, the merchants, it is not more valuable to them than it is to the statesman and political economist. I know of no work which equals it in the variety, copiousness, and accuracy of the statistical information which it contains, and which, in my view, constitutes one of its most valuable features. Another feature in the Magazine which I like very much, is the spirit of free discussion which pervades its pages. You act wisely in permitting all parties to be heard upon the mooted theories of trade and commerce, which involve to some extent the great problem of modern civilization, thus keeping open and free from obstruction, the only direct avenue to truth."

"Your publication is equally creditable to the periodical literature of the day. Its leading articles exhibit abundant proof of the ability, research and industry of their authors. In short, I esteem the Merchants' Magazine as second to no publication of the kind, published in this or any other country."

A few complete sets of the MERCHANTS' MAGAZINE, embracing NINETEEN semi-annual volumes, of more than 600 large octavo pages each, bringing it down to December, 1848, may be obtained at the Publisher's Office, 142 Fulton-street, New York, at the subscription price.

THE NATIONAL ERA,

G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR,

JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

TERMS, \$2.00 A YEAR, PAYABLE IN ADVANCE.

The number for this week (October 12th,) contains the first of a series of

RAMBLING EPISTLES FROM NEW YORK,

BY JOHN SMITH, THE YOUNGER.

Who has been engaged as a regular contributor to the *ERA*.

THE SERIES OF SPIRITED ARTICLES,

"Sketches of Modern Reforms and Reformers in England,"

Will be resumed immediately after the Presidential Election, when the author will present the subjects of the Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts—Catholic Emancipation—the Reform Bill—West India Abolition—the Irish Repeal Agitation—Corn-Law Repeal—Chartism—the Free Suffrage Movement—Scotch Church Division—Irish Affairs, &c.; interspersing notices of O'Connell, Shiel, Brougham, Grey, Russell, Peel, Buxton, Clarkson, Sturge, Cobden, O'Conner, George Thompson, Dr. Chalmers, J. A. James, Macaulay, the Edinburgh Reviewers, Mrs. Fry, Lady Byron, Mrs. Opie, &c., all drawn from his personal observation of these persons.

THE INIMITABLE SKETCH OF

LIFE IN MASSACHUSETTS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY,

Is still continued in a series of papers, entitled,

Stray Leaves from Margaret Smith's Diary in the Colony of Massachusetts.

Politically, the *Era* is devoted to the advocacy of the **FREE SOIL** movement,—full reports of which, in all parts of the country, are given in its columns from week to week.

Washington, D. C., October 12, 1848.

Application for



Patent,
May, 1847.

HANKS' IMPROVED AIR HEATER,
For Warming Public and Private Buildings of all kinds.

As the Locomotive Boiler is, in economical and effective service, when compared with other boilers, so is this Improved Air Heater, when compared with other heaters now so generally used by the community at large.

The peculiar improvement and operation of this apparatus is, that the heat, as its temperature is reduced, passes down into pipes of a still lower temperature, and at the lowest, passes off into the chimney. The air to be warmed is brought first in contact with the pipes and conductors of the lowest temperature, and as it becomes warm and rises, is brought in contact with, and rises among, pipes of a temperature continually and regularly increasing, until at the highest it passes off into conductors leading into the rooms. Thus the current of heat is directly contrary to the current of air passing into the apartments.

One season's use of this great improvement has fairly tested its merits, and proved its superiority over all Air Heaters now in use.

In order to warm a building, set the Air Heater in the cellar or basement room; surround it with a double brick wall, each four inches thick and four inches apart, arching it over the top, leaving a door at the rear, of sufficient size to take out the Heater—the door to be closed with two thicknesses of tin or sheet iron, three inches apart. At the bottom of the wall, directly under the pipes, also opposite the stove, introduce a supply of pure air from outside of the building; this coming in contact with the heated surfaces, rises rapidly and passes off into tin conductors leading from the arch over the Heater to the apartments intended to be warmed.

Kindle the fire in the usual manner; when sufficiently ignited, close the damper, and the heat is made to pass into all the pipes and both chambers of the Radiator.

1st. It will radiate more heat, with a given quantity of fuel, than any other apparatus now in use for the same purpose.

2d. It is perfectly accessible at all times, and may be cleared of ashes and soot, either when in operation or not, by simply opening the door of the Radiator.

3d. All the coal it may contain can always be seen by looking in at the "feeding door;" thus it may at once be known if the quantity and quality of the coal is as it should be.

4th. It is so constructed that the required quantity of heat can always be had and controlled, diminished or increased at pleasure, with a corresponding consumption of fuel.

Orders, addressed to either of the subscribers, will receive immediate attention.

L. B. HANKS, Hartford, Conn.
DAVID PROUTY & CO., Boston.

"IMPROVED LOCOMOTIVE AIR HEATER."—This is the name given to an improved furnace, invented by L. B. Hanks, of Hartford, Conn., and exhibited at the late Mechanics' Fair in this city. It is very unlike any furnace in common use, and evidently possesses some important advantages. One is, that it is only about 3-4 feet in height, and is therefore available in low cellars, at the same time affording an opportunity for an unusual elevation of hot air conductors immediately after they leave the brick work. Another advantage is, that the radiating surface is unusually large—about 90 feet—there being between 30 and 40 feet of cast iron flues through which the fire is made to pass, and among which the fresh air rises on its passage to the conductors, the temperature of the pipes regularly increasing upwards as the air approaches the conductors into the rooms above; and all these flues are so arranged as to be easily accessible for cleansing and other purposes. This furnace can be seen at Messrs. Prouty & Mears', North Market street, who are agents for the inventor, and deserves the attention of all who are interested in such matters.—*Boston Traveller*.

Right, Mr. Traveller; you never said a better thing. We agree with you in full—the only fault we have ever heard attributed to this Improved Locomotive Air Heater, was by a coal dealer who complained that it did not burn coal enough. The fact is, our friend Hanks has got up a little the best article for making houses comfortable, of anything we have ever seen. One important improvement is a very simple arrangement, by which the gas is almost entirely consumed, and at the same time made to increase the heat in the cast iron pipes. We advise our friends who understand this method of warming houses, to examine the furnace for themselves at Messrs. Gilbert & Cowles', 72 State street, and at the Hartford Iron Foundry.—*Hartford Courant*.

lers,
the
e is
the
most
of a
tors
into
rity
with
a
can
also
not
the
is
for
in
it
nd,

R.
ce
is
on
ce
is
ce
ty
nd
er
of
le
er
ri